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SENATOR MOSES'S triumphant renomination in New Hampshire has rightly cast down the spirits of the proponents of the League of Nations. He was to have been turned down by an indignant rising of Republicans, plus the newly enfranchised women voters, who were supposed to be waiting to take revenge upon him for his steadfast opposition to woman suffrage. The issue was plain, for, being a "bitter-ender," Senator Moses stuck to his guns—it will be remembered that he was the first Senator to denounce the Treaty of Versailles not only for the Covenant, but for its plain violation of the dictates of humanity and of our national honor, pledged when the armistice was granted. It should have been easy, therefore, to raise the cry of pro-German against him. But all the attacks failed; there was no such rush to punish him as was said to have marked the defeat of Senator Gore in Oklahoma. All of Franklin Roosevelt's profound certainty that the womanhood of America is for the League proved to be bosh in New Hampshire, as it is likely to turn out elsewhere. Naturally the Democratic press is more than ever appalled at the size of the campaign fund the Republicans have tried to raise—and they themselves would be raising if they could.

IN Georgia Thomas Watson, the "demagogue" and inciter of bitter racial feuds, found straight-cut opposition to Wilson and to the whole treaty the road to the greatest success of his checkered career. Indicted during the war for his opposition to it, his newspaper suppressed, with the hatred of the White House and the Department of Justice centered upon him, he yet polled more votes than his three opponents combined. The American Legion unitedly attacked him; his war record was daily set forth; the most powerful newspapers of the State opposed him—still he denounced Wilson, the war, and the treaty; and the electorate not only nominated Watson to the Senate, but picked ex-Senator Hardwick to be its next Governor—although Mr. Hardwick, in addition to his opposition to the war when Senator, recently had the temerity to defend Martens, the Bolshevik envoy. As for the defeat of Hoke Smith, it is well merited. The last survivor in public life of Cleveland's Cabinets, he never hesitated to prostitute his marked talents and his intellect to further his advancement. To conquer in elections he stooped to abuse and vilify the Negro like a Tillman or a Blease. Probably at heart opposed to the war, he went along with Mr. Wilson and continued his compromising when the treaty appeared, taking the reservationist standpoint. In this campaign he tried a final straddle of half supporting Wilson—to meet his proper reward. His retirement makes for political honesty and sincerity. Thus the outcome in Georgia appears to prove the reports that continually reach us from the South that in no other section are Mr. Wilson, his war, and his post-bellum works in such disfavor.

IN Wisconsin, too, there has been a recovery from the war madness, for two Republican anti-war Congressmen, Cooper and Nelson, who lost their seats two years ago, have won nominations. The metropolitan press announces that the renomination of Senator Lenroot presages the end—for the twentieth time—of La Follette's influence in that State. This seems rather singular in view of the fact that La Follette's candidate for Governor won the nomination and that at least three Congressional nominations were wrested from the regulars by the La Follette-Nonpartisan League combination, among them Representative Esch, co-author with Senator Cummins of the railroad law, who was defeated by an alliance of the forces of the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhoods, and the La Follette followers. One would think that any man who had achieved as much as this in one election, when he was himself too weak or too ill to campaign, might be well content with his achievement. We are assured that Mr. J. J. Blaine, who has won the gubernatorial nomination, is—as we were told of La Follette when first he became Governor—a wild radical, certain to upset the whole basis of society. We hope he *is* radical. We hope that there is at least one Governor in sight who will dare to do a little thinking, who will break away from the war's dark reaction and will have some new ideas and economic theories to advance. As for Senator Lenroot, his renomination brings no balm to the pro-

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Leaguers, for he, too, is a reservationist, whom events may easily push into a position of greater antagonism, if, for instance, Senator Harding, having boxed the compass once more, should join Senator Lodge in saying that "we ought not to accept any covenant which in any way could be made to carry out Mr. Wilson's purposes."

OUR State Department has seized the moment of Obregon's peaceful election to the presidency of Mexico, with its promise of more settled conditions, to roil the waters with what is understood to be a protest against a continuation of the "confiscatory policy" put into effect against American oil interests by the Carranza Government. This "confiscatory policy" was merely an assertion of the right of Mexico to control her natural resources in the interest of Mexicans, or what was once described in certain famous Fourteen Points by the President of a neighboring republic as "self-determination." After making its protest, the State Department sought to minimize its importance and convey the impression that it was informal and required no answer. A dispatch from Mexico City, however, said that the reason there would be no answer was because the communication was couched in such terms that the Mexican Government would not accept or acknowledge it. The State Department would have Mexico understand that she has got to be good—or even better than that. But it is doubtful if Mexico will be allowed to be good enough to silence the demand for intervention; not if American oil interests can help it.

SOME of these European ministers seem to be named to fit their jobs. Here is Mr. Grabski, Polish Minister of Finance, coolly inviting the United States to buy more hundred million dollar toys for the Polish baby to smash. "Unless the United States has $169,000,000 to throw away," he is quoted as saying, "she will have to continue patiently lending financial and economic assistance, and perhaps even military aid, until the Red menace is entirely crushed. For the present there is no possibility of an early repayment of the huge sums we owe the United States." And in the future, we may add, there is little likelihood of even a deferred repayment. The American people might just as well write down the various secret advances to Poland as money staked on a lame horse; and a wise gambler doesn't bet twice on the same bad ankle even when it looks well bandaged. Mr. Grabski's grab will not be successful if our government gamblers are forced to publish their bets, and the Republicans have a splendid chance to insist upon publicity. Meanwhile that other aptly-named statesman, Baron Wrangel, continues wrangling. Apparently he is in serious difficulties with the Kuban Cossacks. An interesting echo of his previous wrangling has come to light; the *Populaire* of Paris discovers that when Wrangel was intriguing for leadership under Denikin, the French Government, now his stoutest supporter, urged Denikin not to confide any important post to Wrangel because of his pro-German sympathies!

REVOLUTIONS, in the good old days, were matters of street barricades and gunpowder and armed attacks upon town halls and parliament buildings and foreign offices. Italy is in the throes of something very like a revolution today, but the revolutionists pay no attention to government buildings, seizing instead metal factories and chemical shops. Their course is significant of the shift of power in the modern industrial state. These Italian workers realize that possession of the Parliament building would mean nothing to them; that if they hold control of the fundamental economic power, they can make Parliament do their bidding. It is significant, too, that the Italian Government has not interfered with the movement and that there has been almost no violence and bloodshed, partly, probably, because the Government has felt that it could not rely upon its soldiers, and partly because it has honestly believed that non-interference was the only path to a peaceful solution. A national convention of workers' organizations at Milan has voted to confine the movement to the metal trade and to the allied industries, experimenting with "cooperatives of labor" which may serve as a guide for further transformation. The aim of the struggle, says Signor d'Arragona, leader of the moderate trade-unionists who triumphed at Milan, will be "an acknowledgement on the part of the masters of the principle that their works shall be controlled by the men's union." The future of the experiment now depends upon two factors: the discipline of the men working under their own leaders, and the ability of those leaders to secure coal for the factories. For, in Italy, as throughout Europe today, coal is king.

FULLY equipped with boundaries, a constitution, a name, and a dictator—lacking only its membership card in the League of Nations—the new Italian Regency of Quarnaro, née Fiume, has come into being as an independent state. After the manner of all great authors, D'Annunzio has dipped boldly into the works of his contemporaries and his predecessors for the subject-matter of his constitution; but the style is said to be his own. He has provided, in terms guaranteed to be poetical, for a military dictator in time of emergency, for economic discrimination in favor of the proletariat, for a judiciary chosen from the wisest of the city fathers, for compulsory military service for men and women, and has established standards for the aesthetic guidance of the new state. Ultimately—and here lies the true significance of the little drama—the Regency hopes to attach itself to Italy. Will Italy acknowledge its relationship with this new Utopia? The revolutionary movement would have to proceed some distance, it would seem, to make such a partnership wholly comfortable; but D'Annunzio will deserve credit if he succeeds, even by perverse methods, in bringing the Adriatic question one step nearer to a settlement.

PRESIDENT WILSON has made a wise move, and performed a graceful act as well, in appointing Miss Mabel T. Boardman a Commissioner of the District of Columbia. For years past these chief governing positions have gone to politicians or to worn-out newspaper men, who have ruled in conjunction with an engineer officer of the army. It has usually been government by mediocrity in addition to being government without the consent of the governed. Miss Boardman's is quite the most distinguished appointment made in decades. It is not only that women are now to be recognized in the housekeeping of the District but that Miss Boardman herself is a most able and experienced executive. What the Red Cross owed to her in the early days of its reorganization it would be hard to exaggerate, but from Miss Boardman herself no one would get an inkling. There has been no happier omen of what the entrance of women into

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our political life may mean than this—and how easily and naturally we take the transition! There is no wailing, no bemoaning the danger to home and to womanhood, nothing but its acceptance as a normal happening. Yet it seems only a few years ago that *The Nation* and other liberal organs were battling for women's right to a college education and every man who favored the suffrage for women was accused of being in favor of free love and the destruction of family life. It will not be ten years before women Senators, Cabinet officials and members of Congress will seem not ridiculous or dangerous, but a matter of course.

IT costs a lot of money for the American Woolen Company to run full-page advertisements in the big newspapers of the big cities of the United States. Employees of the firm will wish that the money had been used for unemployment benefits; and the general public will see another chance for lowered prices gone to waste. Breakfast-table reading of Mr. Wood's ten-point words about his firm's "faithful employees" and "manifold duties to the public" will be little consolation to either. The obvious and admitted fact is that the American Woolen Company, with enormous profits salted away, was faced with the alternative of lowering prices or closing its mills until a new demand buoyed up the market. It chose the latter course, and all the highfalutin, high-paid advertising in the world will hardly deceive the public. Newspaper readers may forget the exact percentage of the company's profits, but they are acutely conscious of the cost of woolen suits; and 40,000 "faithful employees" have for two months faced the problem of life on nothing a week.

LEON SONIAT POST of the American Legion, in New Orleans, has been expelled because it sent to the members of Congress from Louisiana the following resolution on the bonus legislation which Legion officers tried to have passed last winter:

> The easy and unscrupulous use of the name of the American Legion by certain of its leaders to foster such legislation in Congress without a referendum thereon to the full membership of the organization has, by creating a false impression of the unanimous approval in its ranks, operated to the injury of the Legion's interest and is inconsistent with the high purposes set forth in the preamble of its constitution.

One reason for the expulsion was that the resolution tended "to criticize and defame the House of Representatives." Obviously there is not a word in the resolution to justify this charge, but it is equally plain that the element in the Legion that has set out to reduce the services of American soldiers from a patriotic to a cash basis is determined to stifle any democratic expression of opinion that might interfere with its plans.

SENATOR WILLIAM M. CALDER, of New York, chairman of the Senate Committee on Reconstruction, is quoted as saying that not less than $25,000,000,000 is needed to put in proper condition what he calls "the basic national plant"—by which he means railways, public utilities, factories, and housing. This huge sum, practically equal to the national debt, represents the estimated loss in efficiency, earning power, credit, and material comfort which the nation has suffered in consequence of the war. The most important need, according to Senator Calder, is for adequate transportation facilities, the lack of which is not only interfering seriously with the normal course of business and jeopardizing the distribution of coal, but also hindering the delivery of building materials upon which the ultimate relief of the housing shortage in part depends. It is suggested that, in addition to necessary revision of the taxing system, the Federal government itself should undertake construction work of all kinds, presumably by lending its credit in some way to private or corporate enterprises rather than by constructing buildings or public works for its own use. We are not enamored of any scheme for the wholesale use of Federal credit in aid of private enterprises of any kind, nor is it clear how any considerable extension of such credit can be made without dangerously increasing the public debt. Senator Calder has done well, however, in calling attention to the need of a reconstruction program for the country—a need which the Wilson Administration, obsessed by its zeal for a League of Nations and a hand in world affairs, has persistently neglected.

SAMUEL UNTERMYER says that "nation-wide criminal combinations and secret agreements in the building trade are largely accountable for the present intolerable building conditions; that they are glaringly unlawful and that they should be broken up and their members should and can be put in prison where they belong." Maybe so; but when Mr. Untermyer suggests more governmental investigation, and declares that the proper remedy for profiteering in rents is to apply "the same punitive laws as are applied to other forms of profiteering," we lose heart and our eye wanders to the next column in the newspaper. If Mr. Untermyer is right that the lumbermen, cement manufacturers, brick manufacturers, and all the other materialmen are making exorbitant profits, Mr. Palmer ought to put some of them in jail; but Mr. Palmer's windy but futile attacks on other forms of profiteering have given us little faith in the method. Mr. Untermyer's suggestion that savings banks and insurance companies be required by law to invest more of their funds in mortgages might help toward eventual financing of new construction; but the testimony accumulates that large-scale new construction is imperative and urgent, and it seems improbable that private speculative capital can be trusted to satisfy the immediate requirements.

LOST, strayed, or stolen: Attorney General Palmer; last heard of at San Francisco July 7. Information eagerly desired by numerous persons interested. Suitable reward for recovery.

The approaching Red revolt in America. Last announced just prior to the nomination of Mr. Cox.

The collapse of the Bolshevik government, announced in forty-three issues of the New York *Times*. Large reward offered by French financiers to anyone producing it.

The broken heart of the world. Notify the White House by wire (C. O. D.).

The "dominant" campaign issue. Reported to have disappeared last week in New Hampshire and Georgia. Generous reward for return to Democratic national headquarters.

The progressive element in the Republican Party. Send all information to Hiram W. Johnson, San Francisco.

Senator Harding—strayed from his front porch and believed to be well beyond his depth.—*Advertisement.*

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"Don't Throw Away Your Vote"

THERE is no older trick in the politician's bag than the appeal to the perplexed independent not to throw away his vote for a ticket "that cannot possibly win"—and none is at times more effective. We are now in the political doldrums, and this appeal is echoed and reechoed in the daily press, which seeks to delude people into believing that there is a real issue between the Republican and Democratic parties, that, if the so long deluded and betrayed American electorate will only continue to choose the lesser of two grave evils, we shall yet have a political Golden Rule. A vote for a third party which cannot possibly win—that is the height of stupidity, declares an influential journal. We must, we are told, decide between Cox and the "wets" and the crooked bosses who selected him, and Harding and his gang of Republican reactionaries, with their promise of war with Mexico and higher tariffs. To make this disgusting choice is, we are assured, to show high intelligence, civic responsibility, and genuine patriotism. On the other hand if you fail so to choose, you are a heedless and impractical idealist, ready to throw away your influence and to see your vote go for nothing.

The argument is as old as it is shallow, as specious as it is false. It has been trotted out in every campaign since the Mugwumps of 1884 committed the unpardonable crime of bolting the Republican Party, and always with more or less abuse and contumely for any who refused to be bound by the acts of politicians in convention assembled. It did duty when Democrats were seeking to decide between McKinley and Bryan and a possible third party in 1900. It has been used every time a new order and a new party was threatened; it was freely cited in 1912 against the Progressives when the Republican press still thought that Mr. Taft had a chance of reelection. And now when multitudes are holding their noses in the effort to decide whether to go to Harding or Cox, or to plump a vote of protest for one of the minor parties, the old scarecrows of irregularity and impracticality are brought out once more to induce men to accept anew the shackles placed upon them by Republican and Democratic politicians.

Now the falsity of the argument becomes apparent if one recalls that it was used at the birth of the Republican Party in 1854. The men who "threw away their votes" for Frémont knew that their chances of electing him were remote, but they knew that they had a duty to their country to perform which made it easy for them to endure the sneers and railings of the "regular" politicians of their day. They did not even dare hope that they would win the Congressional elections of 1858 or the Presidency in 1860. They simply declined any longer to be parties to that magnificent conspiracy against human liberty which was the politics of the two existing parties. They were ready and willing to be called "quitters" and "bolters" and "kickers" or anything else by their adversaries, because they had decided that, the old parties being too rotten and too false to American ideals further to associate with, they would stand up and be counted as just so many "impractical idealists." We have precisely the same situation today. We are not sure that some of the bellowing politicians are correct when they say that we are facing the greatest crisis the country has ever known, but we do know that it is grave enough to make every patriot search his heart and his conscience and determine to vote neither by rote nor by fear of being called names nor of his vote's not counting. It *is* a crisis because the old crooked, outworn political machines no longer serve, because a new order is as clearly at hand as it was in 1860. Shall freemen be deterred from ploughing the lonely furrow once more for fear that the very men who are perpetrating the old deceits and frauds shall deem them possessed of visions?

Never. If the test of "sensible" voting is to cast your vote where it counts in electing somebody, then only those who vote for the winning ticket can qualify. The minority which voted for Theodore Roosevelt in 1912—did it throw away its votes? We venture to say that the idealists in the Progressive Party who voted for the things the platform stood for, even when they had their doubts about the candidate, look back upon that vote as one of the most precious they ever cast. No. Voting is not the same as betting on a horse race; the object is not to guess which side has the best chance of winning and then to jump to that. It is the exercise of the most sacred right of the free man and the free woman. It is a measure of conscience, a test of manhood and womanhood, the priceless right of self-expression as to one's government. To let it be controlled by a vulgar fear of being in a small minority is to degrade and debase it. To misuse it by compromising between a Cox and a Harding when common sense tells that both are unfit for the presidential responsibility is to cheapen and to corrupt it. It were better not to use it at all. Indeed, the way voters are refraining from the polls because they can in no way express their views and wishes is of the handwriting on the wall. Those who refrain altogether are far truer than those who year after year play into the hands of the politicians.

"Of two evils choose neither." That is the sound and wise principle which ought to govern liberals in this emergency. The vote of protest is never a vote lost. If it is the vote of conscience, it ennobles; if it is the genuine expression of the voter it uplifts the ballot, and throwing it away on a man and a party for whom the voter has no respect besmirches it. This year, certainly, the fear of being lonely at the polls ought to deter nobody. It will be surprising indeed if the Socialists do not cast four million votes. No one can, of course, estimate the Farmer-Labor votes, but there will be many in numerous States. But even if there be few, those who cast them will have nothing to be ashamed of. In June, 1856, no less a person than Abraham Lincoln called a mass meeting in aid of the new third party in his own home town of Springfield. The meeting turned out to consist of but three persons; Lincoln, his partner Herndon, and one John Pain. Lincoln smiled and said that it was larger than he *knew* it would be. He had known only that Herndon and he would be there—yet another brave man had come out! We quote Lincoln's words—what could be more fitting to the hour? "While all seems dead, the age itself is not. It liveth as sure as our Maker liveth. Under all this seeming want of life and motion the world does move, nevertheless. Be hopeful, and now let us adjourn and appeal to the people." The bolters of 1920—will they not also do their full share in speeding the day when the foundations of the new order will be rising on the ruins of the old?

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Democracy in Banking

AMONG the most hopeful of all efforts toward the democratization of industry in America—toward the control by the worker over the product of his work, and thus over his life—is the present movement to establish labor and farmer banks. A number of savings and small commercial institutions are already in existence, while the approval of the Treasury Department of the plan of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has made it possible to establish in Cleveland the first national bank to be undertaken by organized labor. Since then signs have appeared all over the country of similar movements on the part of workers. From Philadelphia comes word that the Central Labor Union has voted to establish a cooperative bank, while in Chicago, where more than $6,000,000 in trade union funds are on deposit, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and other labor bodies are considering going into the banking business. Best of all, the Chicago Federation of Labor has proved the solidarity of its interests with those of the farmers by a unanimous resolution urging all local unions to send deposits to the State-owned Bank of North Dakota to assist in moving the crops. Several unions have already done this, and it is reported that a similar movement is under way in Minneapolis. In Tucson, Arizona, the bankers have joined in the effort to set up the "open shop," and are reported to be calling loans and refusing credit where business men take the other side. So labor has decided to start a bank of its own, and, according to recent reports, has obtained $19,000 toward a $50,000 fund.

The determination of workers both in cities and on farms to have their own banks is a move in the right direction. The bank, in this day, is the economic power behind the throne. In the last fifty years America has evolved from a land of free individual enterprise into the most centralized and autocratic industrialism in the world. As the motive force of this we often speak glibly of the "money power"; but more important than money power is an energy hardly realized half a century ago, vastly exploited and inflated within recent years: credit. And behind credit, and thus acting as the dynamo of the whole industrial machine, is the bank. It is well to speak of it in the singular, because the financial power of the country has gradually passed into the hands of small groups of whom it is no exaggeration to say that they wield the most extensive and most arbitrary authority ever exercised in the world's history. The Comptroller of the Currency estimates the "banking power" of the United States on June 30, 1919, as forty-five billion dollars. This is three times the banking power of the entire world thirty years ago, and nine times that of our own country at the same date. By their power to inflate or deflate credit in general, the small groups of men who hold the reins of our financial resources possess an uncanny control over prices, and, by their determination to grant or withhold it in particular instances, they make and unmake business. It is not merely the farmer and the wage-earner that are subject to this regime; the business man outside the ranks of the controlling few and the smaller bankers, too, are equally or more helpless.

The present banking control is unnecessarily and extravagantly expensive. According to the Treasury Department's figures, the national banks of the United States paid an average dividend of 12 per cent on their capital for the fiscal year 1919; those of New York City paid 14 per cent and earned 19 per cent net on their capital and surplus. Recent statements by Senator Owen that New York bankers have been lending money at exorbitant rates are corroborated by the Comptroller of the Currency, who says that as high as 25 and 30 per cent has been exacted on substantial amounts. On November 13, last, two or three banks alone were lending about $50,000,000 at 20 per cent or more. As late as June these same banks were asking 14 per cent on millions of dollars.

One reason why banks pay so well, and at such slight risks to their stockholders, is because the business is done almost wholly with other people's money. Official figures of the national banks for the fiscal year 1919 show that deposits (the public's money) constituted twelve times as much of the total resources as did capital (the stockholders' money). Despite its exorbitant cost, our modern banking system does not serve the community as a whole. Mr. Frederic C. Howe says:

> Credit should be obtainable by any man of character and ability. A new society would be created if the colossal credit resources of America . . . were dedicated, as they should be dedicated, to assist men and to develop the resources of the country. . . . Unfortunately the control of credit has passed into the hands of men interested primarily in high finance, in speculation, in the creation of monopolies, in the control of the industrial life of the people, and in financing foreign countries rather than their own. The money of the people is used against the people.

"An English or American bank of today," says Mr. James Davenport Whelpley in "The Trade of the World," "is nothing more or less than a glorified pawnbroker, who will cheerfully lend 95 per cent on a gold dollar as security."

The land and credit banks of Europe, before the war, at least, did for the agriculturist there what has never been done for the farmer here. The Federal Farm Loan act was intended to accomplish similar benefits in this country, but its usefulness was stopped by court proceedings before it got fairly started; these are still pending. Thus the American farmer now, as heretofore, has to pay 8 to 10 per cent for the money necessary to run his business, and can usually borrow on nothing but unmortgaged real estate or grain that has reached the stage of storage in an elevator. Not merely is our present banking system deficient in its loaning policy, from the standpoint of service to the community as a whole, but in some of our large cities it is no longer available to the poor man even as a depository of his funds. In New York City, for instance, commercial banks not only do not pay interest on accounts subject to check, but for some years they have had a rule that a depositor whose account falls below $200 is charged $1 a month.

There is a wonderful opportunity for cooperation between farmers and city workers in the banking business. It has been estimated that the wages of labor amount to twenty-five billion dollars a year and that the value of farm produce is over twenty billion dollars. By establishing its own banks organized labor can obtain facilities now denied to its members and extend such facilities to professional and small business men as well. By lending to farmers labor can, in all probability, get a higher rate of interest than is now obtainable and at the same time furnish the agriculturist with cheaper money than he can get elsewhere. It is another case of cutting out the middleman—the most expensive and domineering middleman in the whole chain.

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Emigrants and Immigrants

EMPLOYERS of unskilled labor are reported to be a good deal concerned over the unsatisfactory state of both emigration and immigration. While the number of European immigrants who have entered the United States during the present year exceeds the number of aliens who have left the country, the excess is small, and far below the pre-war average. According to preliminary figures lately made public, the number of persons, 197,956, admitted at New York during the first six months of 1920 exceeded by only 45,419 the number of those who departed. At this rate the net gain for the year would have been a little over 90,000, or less than one-sixth of the net gain in 1913, the last normal year. In the last month, however, a change has taken place and there has been a great increase in arrivals. About half of the immigrants now arriving are women and children, while many of the men do not belong to the unskilled wage-earning class.

Over against the number of aliens who are coming in is to be set the large number who are going out. The exodus of Poles, Finns, and Bohemians—the movement of the Poles has recently been checked somewhat by the war—has been limited only by the ability to obtain passage by sea, and the departures of Italians and Greeks have been considerable. Many Russians are reported to be ready to go, but as the United States refuses to recognize the Soviet Government or any of its representatives, the Russian workers here are virtually interned. These withdrawals are practically a dead loss to American industry—a loss which will be only in small part made good by the prospective arrival of considerable numbers of Syrians, most of whom become peddlers or small tradesmen, or of Polish Jews, or of Swiss. Irish immigration, which until a few weeks ago was considerable, has now been frowned upon by Sinn Fein; and the immigration from other parts of the British Empire, from France, and elsewhere is negligible.

Those aliens who are leaving us are impelled by various motives. A good many who have made modest fortunes are returning to their native land to visit relatives or friends, and not all who go for this reason have any clear plans for coming back. The war has created new demands for labor in Europe, and in particular has greatly altered the status of women as wage-earners. The increased political importance of labor, joined to the strong nationalistic ambitions of some of the new states, is not without its influence. To these European attractions is to be added the pressure of certain unhappy conditions in this country. The foreign laborer knows that America is no longer such a home of liberty as he once imagined it to be. Great sections of our foreign-born population have for six years been subjected to suspicion and espionage, coerced into buying Liberty bonds, and forced to endure official and private surveillance of their churches, schools, and social organizations. Race riots are only too common, and their victims as a rule go unredressed. The immigrant knows only too well that, even if he becomes naturalized, he is pretty certain to continue to be looked upon as inferior to the native-born Americans, and that most so-called Americanization schemes are only the devices of politicians and employers for insuring a supply of cheap labor and controlling its votes. He knows, too, that he can no longer obtain the beer or wine to which he has long been accustomed, and, resenting the loss of beverages which he considers a necessity as well as a comfort, he finds in it another reason for leaving the country which has deprived him.

On the other hand, Europe and South America are now offering strong counter-attractions. The Portuguese, who for some time have been leaving Portugal in large numbers, are going to Brazil. Italian labor, which for years has been flowing into South America, is finding additional and lucrative opportunity in France, where the government is reported to be offering coal as an inducement to Italian coal miners to emigrate. The demand for sailors in some places exceeds the supply, while the breaking up of large landed estates and the establishment of easier conditions of acquiring and holding land are powerful inducements to the European farmer class to stay at home. It is the economic motive, of course, that has always been the strongest factor in inducing emigration; and now that America has ceased to be *par excellence* the land of economic opportunity, openings elsewhere or nearer home have in proportion a greater attraction. The vision of America as the land of hope will not last if hopes go unfulfilled too long.

Our Musical Riches

THE musical problem in America is no longer how to lure the foreign artist to this country, but what to do with him after he gets here. There can be no boast behind this statement, however. It is merely that with Paris freezing, Vienna starving, London financially pressed, and the German cities outcasts, most of the talent that used to be fairly well distributed over those centers is now concentrated here. And so we find ourselves possessed of a musical wealth as fabulous as it is sudden; our pedagogic and symphonic fields enriched by famous old-world teachers and leaders, whose roots had hitherto seemed to be too deeply imbedded in European soil ever to be uptorn; our opera companies spilling over with singers now beyond the means of the great houses abroad; and our concert lists embracing the names of almost every virtuoso before the public. The impetus already derived from this ever fresh and increasing contact with genius is unmistakable. New conservatories are springing up everywhere, while those of established reputation are receiving, for the first time in their existence, applications from students abroad. Each of the last few years has seen one or more symphony orchestras added to the chain that now links the two coasts, and of these organizations most have been finding it necessary to increase annually not only the number of subscription concerts in their home towns, but also the extent of their tours.

Most amazing, too, has been the progress in operatic activities. There are the Scotti and San Carlo Opera companies, for instance, which are finding it possible to tour the country from New York to San Francisco, and from New Orleans to Vancouver, with principals, orchestra, scenery, and, in Scotti's case, even chorus, to give grand opera with competent casts at reasonable prices, and at the same time to make money; and this in spite of the increased cost of railroad transportation and union musicians. Scotti's productions must be called more than "competent," however, as he is literally taking the Metropolitan to the people, offering them the regular Metropolitan casts and conductors, an orchestra drawn from the Metropolitan and other New

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York symphonic organizations, a well-trained chorus, and even scenery modeled on that of the Broadway institution—only in miniature, to meet the stage requirements of the theaters on his route. His first venture, four years ago, met with financial loss. This year, with tickets ranging in price from one to five dollars, he not only receives a guaranty to cover his expenses, but also a goodly share of the profits from every town that he visits. It is doubtful, though, whether even Scotti would have met with such quick returns had it not been for the pioneer work done by Fortuno Gallo and his San Carlo Opera Company. The story of Gallo's career is a study in initiative. He first gained some reputation as a manager by exploiting "Royal" Italian bands throughout the Middle West at a time when, as he says, the word "Royal" was still acceptable to the public, when the "brass" playing of Italians was virtually unknown to this country, and when Italian musicians were not even admitted to the unions. Overcoming these obstacles and prejudices, he then ventured into grand opera, which he was again the first to carry to this same section of the country. In this he met with an even greater ignorance, but managed to get a foothold in the various communities by cooperating in benefits for local charities. That was nine years ago. Today there is hardly a city either in this country or in Canada that the San Carlo Company does not visit, and in which it does not play to capacity houses, as in Rochester recently, where three thousand people were turned away. Gallo believes that municipal opera is not far away. Milton Aborn, another manager of long experience, who is now devoting his energies to organizing local opera companies in divers communities, is even more optimistic, and declares that it is very near indeed. As a matter of fact, Baltimore, which went on record as being the first town to maintain a municipal symphony orchestra, is talking of having municipal opera this year. All these are signs and symbols of the times.

If, however, statistics seem more convincing, those of the coming New York season should prove all-conclusive. For that metropolis will be called upon to support a preliminary season of popular-priced grand opera by the San Carlo and Commonwealth Opera companies, twenty-three weeks of high-priced opera by the Metropolitan, six by the Chicago company, and a season of opera comique by the Society of American Singers. It is scheduled to hear Sunday night concerts at the Metropolitan, the Lexington, and the Manhattan Opera houses, and at the Hippodrome. Its orchestral activities range between two and three hundred concerts, including seventy-five by the National Symphony, sixty by the Philharmonic, fifty by the New York Symphony, ten by the Boston, eight by the Philadelphia, three by Toscanini and his La Scala orchestra, besides those by the Russian and People's Symphonies and other local organizations. In chamber music there will be, among others, concerts by the Flonzaley, the Letz, and the famous London String quartets, the Elshuco and new Bauer-Thibaud-Casals trios, and the New York Chamber Music Society; while of vocal and instrumental recitals there will be no end. To meet all these musical (as well as preelection) demands, Carnegie Hall, for the first time in its history, has been booked solidly for the season. So, too, has Aeolian Hall; and, added to this, almost every small hall and theater, adaptable to recitals and within easy access to the public, will be requisitioned for such purposes. In the meantime the influx from Europe continues.

Terpsichore as Missionary

THE dancing masters aim to insinuate a dash of paganism into our villages by tempting the Methodists to dance a little now and then. Now, Methodists are no worse than some of the other sectarians when it comes to asceticism in affairs of the toe, though they do have a stricter official discipline. But everywhere in neighborhoods long exposed to evangelical orthodoxy some sort of missionary work is about due. Terpsichore turned missionary! A good deal of a hussy in her bolder steps, it seems—so the dancing masters say—that the minx can mince, and she must. No more bacchantic abandon, naturally; no more wild feet flying down green forest alleys and out upon the high lawns; no more white arms beating the joyful wind or unbound hair streaming in the sun; no more swift embraces in the dizzy whirl. The minuet must now be mild, the schottische sober, the waltz scrupulously denatured. Terpsichore, by the program of the dancing masters, is going to subdue herself to the chaste sedateness of the Wesleyan Wiggle, the Presbyterian Prance, or the Baptist Bend.

It will be a good thing for all the sectarians who succumb to the new cheerfulness. If David could dance before the ark, why not deacons in more secular places? Did not the daughter of Jephthah and her attendant maidens lift their paces to the sound of pipe and timbrel when the warriors came home from their battles? Why, then, may not the daughters of the Epworth League greet the returning heroes of the Rainbow Division to the throb of banjo and ukelele? Not a few tongues have hinted that soldiers home from France talk too approvingly of the maidens of that beguiling country, who unite mirth with economy and count pleasure among the virtues. Our maidens must compete, and on such occasions it is no dishonor to take a leaf out of a rival's book. And consider the ministers who have latterly spent infinite conferences on how to coax the young men into the churches. They have used brass bands till the cornet and trombone are nearly as respectable as the organ; they have put pep and punch and kick into their sermons till the Reverend William Sunday sounds like a classic; just at the moment they are trying to take the trick with films—picturizing the spicy passages of the Bible and bringing the great panorama of salvation home to the most casual intelligence. But the dance will outrank them all as pew-filler and convert-getter—if it is used as the dancing masters hope and doubtless gracefully pray.

And yet, how about Terpsichore? Her prospects call to mind the fate of those noble sons of nature who at various moments in history have been caught up from their native woods and prairies and tucked into uniforms; or the fate of the amiable cannibals of the South Seas who fell heir to civilization and speedily died off under its tender influences. If she moves with the lead weights of decorum on her eager limbs she will grow stiff. If she lends her rapture too much to propaganda she will grow cold. If she lets them exploit her too much she will turn dry and dusty. Her only hope is to do as civilization does. Let her study the trader and the missionary and the young cuckoo in the sparrow's nest. They will teach her to creep in quietly, make herself at home, and then by gradual degrees rise up and swallow everything in sight.

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Nationalized Power*

By HERBERT HOOVER

THE time has arrived in our national development when we must have a definite national program in the development of our great engineering problems. Our rail and water transport, our water supplies for irrigation, our reclamation, the provision of future fuel resources, the development and distribution of electrical power, all cry out for some broad-visioned national guidance. We must create a national engineering sense of provision for the nation as a whole. . . . It is our duty as citizens to give voice to these critical matters of national policy which our daily contact with this, the fundamentally constructive profession, illuminates to us. Just as our medical associations voice the necessity of safeguards to national health; as the bar associations, of safeguards to our judiciary, so the engineers should exert themselves in our national engineering policies. We have none; but we need some, or the next generation will face a lower instead of a higher standard of living than ours.

The development of our transportation, fuel, power, and water under private initiative has been one of the stimuli that has created the greatness of our people. It has been easy to compass when the problems were more local and filled with speculative profits. There, however, arises a time when this haphazard development must be coordinated in order to secure its best results to the nation as a whole. This system has given us a 50 per cent result; if we are to have 100 per cent we must have a national conception and national guidance. This last 50 per cent involves problems beyond individual initiative alone. Not only is individual initiative insufficient because the problems involve political, financial, interstate matters beyond corporate ability, but we have, with practically unanimous consent of the country, adopted a policy of the limitation of profits in the operation of public transportation and power and some other utilities, and, through the pressure of public opinion we are rapidly coming to a limitation of profit in the development of other large sections of national resources which tend to become natural monopolies. While the limitation of these profits makes for public good, on the other hand they also militate against individualistic development of national resources and necessitate the cooperation of the community as a whole to secure initiative for wider development in the national sense.

Certain of our national resources have always been in national ownership, such as waterways. Certain others, such as reclamation, irrigation, distribution of water for power, are rapidly coming under government control. In others, such as timber, coal, and oil, the possible exhaustion brings their conservation or provision for the nation's future into national concern. In our railway problem, national action has until recently been directed wholly to limitation of profits. Latterly, it has undertaken to regulate wages and give some small recognition to the necessity of equipment. But microscopic attention has been given to the greater problem of how to get more transportation, to get it so organized as to secure real economic operation in its broad sense.

We have a long list of such problems. Some of these have been discussed before the Institute on previous occasions. During the past year the Institute undertook to look into the economic situation of this industry as a national whole. It was demonstrated to be the worst functioning industry in the country. Owing to seasonal and other irregularities of demand, the average term of employment in the bituminous industry is less than 190 days per annum. If this industry could be operated a normal work year, 125,000 men could be turned to other production. It is an industry in which 30 per cent more capital is invested than would otherwise be necessary. The cost of coal to the consumer and the risks to the operator are greatly increased, and, above all, it presents a great human problem fraught with all the terrible misery and strikes and justified discontent that flow from intermittent employment.

I am not proposing any nationalization of the coal mines; far from it. What is required is that we should realize that with our necessary social view of prohibition of combination there remains a national problem beyond the solution of any individual coal operator or any group of operators. It must have national guidance and national plan for its solution, a cooperation of great consumers, railways, operators and miners—but what individual operator can do this?

In respect to our coal supplies again, if we would look forward to the next generation, we have a problem of conservation of immense importance. In this connection, it has been ably proposed by our members that the national Government should cooperate in investigating the possibilities of the establishment of a great electrical trunk line throughout the great power-consuming districts of the Northeast, and that we should feed into this great power-road, power generated at the mines and available water sources, drawing from it at every town and city. The consummation of this project means cheaper power to all consumers. It means a great economy in consumption of coal. It means more regularity in output. It thus means greater ability to compete in world manufacture. It means great relief to the railways from expansion. It means an increased standard of living and a decreased cost of living to a very large section of our population. We have again much such a problem in providing adequate power resources upon the Pacific Coast, where today hundreds of thousands of acres of fertile land are practically non-producing for lack of pumping power.

Of other problems akin to this, we are confronted throughout the West with the fact that a large portion of our average low water supply is already under engagement for irrigation and power. The time has come when that expansion of the land available for cultivation, or into more intensive cultivation, is a factor of mountain storage of water to increase our stream flows in the low season. We have thus a storage problem on a scale we have not hitherto dreamed of, and, again, it is a problem involving cooperation in financial, economic, distribution, navigation, interstate questions, in which individual initiative must have the assistance of the community.

Another series of such problems lies in our oil supplies. If we are to have a mercantile marine and to maintain our navy on a basis of equivalent efficiency with foreign navies,

*From an address before the American Institute of Mining Engineers, Minneapolis, August 26, 1920.

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if we are to maintain the development of the gas engine—the greatest lift in our standard of living and saving of labor in fifty years—we are confronted with the necessity of securing additional oil supplies from outside our own boundaries. Our own supplies, so far as now known, do not represent twenty-five years at our present rate of consumption. The Institute many months ago was the first to give warning to the Federal Government of the gradual absorption of all of the oil sources of the world by other great Powers, and that within a short time we should be dependent upon the good will of these Powers for our necessary oil supplies. No private individual can compete with foreign governments in the measures that they are adopting to hog the resources of the world. This problem again is an engineering problem that requires more than private initiative.

A problem of even more pressing importance than these is the whole question of transportation. At the present moment, our inability to move the commodities which we create is stifling production. It is increasing the cost of distribution and has placed a tax on the American people in decreased production and increased cost of distribution greater than all the taxes imposed by the war.

We have today in Minneapolis ample proof of the frightful cost imposed upon the farmer, consumer, and public. There is a premium over freight cost from ten to twenty cents a bushel for wheat at the mill door compared to wheat in the elevator a few hundred miles away, solely because cars are not available. Either the farmer is losing the amount, or the consumer paying it. Furthermore, to carry the picture further, the railways, in an endeavor to remedy this, are diverting cars from the lumber industry. Already certain mills are partially closed; men are thrown out of employment in the mills and in the building trades. Is this not a price in human misery and national efficiency that warrants some national concern? It is a problem that does not lie alone in expansion of railway facilities. It lies also in the proper expansion of waterways and their coordination with the railway transportation of the country. We have been dabbling in the improvement of water transportation of the United States for a hundred years, and, so far as I know, never yet have we considered it as a problem requiring complete coordination of the entire transport problem for the whole country. We have spent enough money improving useless creeks to have made several competent waterways. Every congressional district in the United States has angled for appropriations for carrying mud from one hole to another as their proper participation in the national plunder. They have never considered that the taxes taken from the people as a whole should be devoted to those points that will benefit the people as a whole.

One result of the policy pursued has been that our waterways have been so badly handled that they have not been able even to compete with the railways, and today, with an enormous increase in railway rates, we find ourselves utterly unable to handle the great bulk commodities of the country at the possible lower charge over our waterways. The opening of the St. Lawrence to ocean-going vessels means five cents a bushel to every farmer in ten States. Likewise, of no less importance are our internal waterways.

These projects have a simple result in the engineer's mind: they make greater production possible with less human effort; they increase the standard of life; they provide for our children. All of these problems are much akin, and the time has come when they need some illumination, guidance, cooperation in their solution from the Federal Government. Nor do I mean a vast extension of federal bureaucracy in federal ownership. If, in the first instance, through an agency of the central Government, we could have an adequate study and preparation of plan and method made of these problems, for engineering development over the next fifty years, viewed solely in their national aspects, we would have taken the first step toward the adequate provision of an increasing standard of living and a lower cost of living for our descendants.

The second step is to determine that our Government will be a government of cooperation, limiting profits surely, but holding to individual initiative as the single hope of human development. In order that we shall have some central point in the Federal Government where these problems may be adequately considered, from which they can be ventilated for the verdict of public opinion, where the business brains of the country can be called into conference and cooperation with the Government, and therefore with the people, the engineers of the United States have proposed time and again that a Cabinet department should be established in Washington, either new or to replace the Interior Department, to which should be assigned the whole question of public works. You are familiar enough with the advantages of such a department from an everyday administration point of view, and enormous saving to the Government from the duplication or competition of the six or seven departments now engaged in engineering construction work of this character, but on this occasion I wish to call your attention to the fact that such a department has become an essential from the point of view of proper consideration and presentation to the American people of these broader national engineering problems, upon which the next generation must depend if our country is to march forward.

Social Reforms in Soviet Russia

By HENRY G. ALSBERG

Moscow, August 6

I THINK I have spoken enough about the food question to give the reader a chance to judge of the Food Department's work. The army, it is quite evident, gets sufficient food. Generally, the rest of the population does not, at least from Government sources. But nearly everybody gets the basis of existence, his daily bread, which in Russia is no longer a mere figure of speech, but a real subject for petition. Mostly the bread furnished by the Government is not daily, but drops out once or twice a week. However, this ration is at any rate a kind of spring-board off which the average citizen may jump for the rest of his food. It gives him the strength and courage to hustle for other necessities. But if the food-getting and distribution department appears to fail, at least partially, that is by no means due to its inherent defects. Hampered by fixed prices, without much manufactured goods to offer the peasant, and with—in the final event—only the military to help it coax their products from the peasants, the Government authorities must be at a distinct disadvantage. Quite conceivably, when industry and import resume their normal course, the Food Department will be able to do its work successfully. Again I wish to point out that terrific external and internal pres-

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sure has caused the conflict between town and country, a conflict perhaps only a few degrees sharper than that between Vienna and rural Austria.

The Health Department, despite a complete lack of all medicines, anesthetics, etc., has done remarkably well. Soviet Russia inherited a terrible scourge of typhus from the armies of Kolchak, Denikin, and Judenich. But Semashko thinks the worst is over. A great campaign of popular education—conducted by proletarian commissions—and of instruction in the army, the restriction of travel on the trains, the installation of bathing and disinfecting establishments, are all, Semashko thinks, showing their effect. Here again in the terrible scarcity of soap—the keenest enemy of typhus—one stumbles up against the blockade and the war-disorganization. Cholera, through systematic vaccination, has been reduced to 5,000 cases for all of European Russia. Smallpox for the same reason has become a negligible quantity. Tuberculosis, scurvy, day-blindness, being diseases of malnutrition, have naturally increased greatly despite all sorts of popular educational campaigns and special sanatoriums and rest homes for the people.

So much has been written about education and the care of children that at present one need simply reiterate that everything possible is being done for the youngsters. But again you find yourself faced with the war and blockade. Lunacharsky recently told me that unless school supplies, which were always imported from abroad, came in soon the whole educational machine would stop for want of fuel. The fact, of course, is that owing to the lack of material, lack of teachers—many of whom are at the wars—lack of available buildings to accommodate the tremendous increase in the number of pupils—and many such buildings have to be occupied temporarily for military purposes—the new system does not function in an ideal fashion. But the sound plan is there for free popular education of all the children, from the primary school through the university, with suitable provision for manual and technical and agricultural training. There is also a whole department for the education of adults and persons who wish to obtain a higher university training, but have not sufficient preparatory knowledge—in short, a workman's university.

Similarly with the care of children. Despite all maternity hospitals and homes, and children's colonies and special food for the infants and children, mortality has been on the increase. Lack of sufficient food and medicines, warmth and clothes, due to the blockade and war, hit the children very hard. I quote what Comrade Dan, wife of the Menshevik leader, who is head of a children's help bureau, told a friend of mine, "We must have help from the outside if we are to save our children."

The art and theater and amusement departments carry out their purposes splendidly. You have only to see the audiences at places of public amusement to recognize that the proletariat has the orchestra stalls now. Moreover, and this is quite characteristic of the democracy prevailing in all departments of the Government, the Proletarian Culture Commissariat and that of Education are actually working to make the people take part in all these art enterprises, in workmen's and peasants' theaters, in choruses and orchestras and brass bands, in the painting of pictures and the making of literature. The participants in the drama not only act but also conduct the theater and do the stage carpentering and scene-painting and shifting themselves. How many manuscripts have already been submitted from every part of Russia in the competition for the new revolutionary international song—manuscripts by quite humble individuals, peasants and shepherds and carpenters!

And here I want to pause a moment to point out again that despite temporary dictatorship, the whole spirit animating this great Russian experiment is quite different from that of the old autocracy. In everything, in every campaign, for health, amusement, for education, the proletariat is called upon to take its share, to form proletarian commissions and clubs to carry on the work. The Government does not try to exclude the people, but on the contrary it wants the people to be the chief movers. There are, as it were, three or four or ten jobs waiting for every capable man, and twenty activities for every wide-awake community.

More amusing, perhaps, than profitable is the question of the survival of old habits and institutions despite the new regime. The most striking of these will be reckoned—especially by the person who stays only a short time in Russia—the all-prevalent habit of private speculation. Sometimes the Government issues a general mandate to shut all the shops, but everybody goes right on buying and selling. The locus simply removes itself from the shop or booth to the sidewalk. The people who have to buy food—and that is practically the whole population—simply have a harder time making their purchases. The two or three big markets, the Sukharevka particularly, are jammed from morning till evening with a crowd of sellers and buyers, and there you can purchase anything you want from kassa to a diamond ring. As long as the Government cannot supply all the people's needs, just so long retail selling and buying will go on, but I am inclined to think that the whole retail system will eventually be discarded with the arrival of peace and plenty.

The institution of bakshish is also rampant. But foreigners, especially from such virtuous countries as Great Britain, are more shocked than they have any right to be by it. I, who hail from the home of Tammany Hall, and who have looked upon Rumania without blanching, confess to viewing Russian graft with a considerable degree of sang-froid. Perhaps later on I shall be able to write a longer piece on this amusing subject. Meanwhile, let us remember that Russia was one of the temples of political and bureaucratic corruption in the Czar's time—and that it is absolutely true that many officials of the present Government have been shot for participation in graft. Can we say the same for our easy-money politicians?

Of course a considerable element of the people continues to try to live and have its being as if the era of socialism hadn't arrived—or at least as if it weren't going to last. You buy and sell houses, which have been nationalized, in the open market; you can buy and sell foreign exchange; there are courts in which you can try cases involving ancient subjects of litigation, courts which are entirely unofficial and sub rosa in character. Thousands, nay millions, of people still think in the old terms of private property. The habit is incorrigible. Yet, as long as no new tremendous fortunes can be piled up and no new accumulations of capital can be made, as long as the *nouveaux riches* dare not wear evidence of their wealth in the shape of fine furs and silken raiment and precious stones on the bodies of their women folk, what harm is there in this sport of grown-up children?

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Poland and the Entente

By ROBERT DELL

London, August 26

THE action of the Polish delegates at Minsk in rejecting all the Russian peace terms shows that the Polish Government believes itself to be in a position to dictate terms as a conqueror. That belief will probably turn out to be mistaken; if the war continues, it is my opinion that it will end in the defeat of the Poles. Trustworthy information suggests that the Russian retreat has been conducted in good order and that the accounts given by the Poles of their successes are greatly exaggerated. But Polish heads are easily turned and their temporary success has led the Poles not only to reject the Russian proposals, but also to demand the creation of new border states out of Russian territory and the annexation to Poland of Vilna with the ultimate object of laying hands on the whole of Lithuania, now an independent state, over which the Russian Communist Government has no control.

In rejecting the Russian peace terms the Poles have followed the advice of the French Government, as semi-officially announced in the *Matin* on August 22. But the French Government is not at all pleased at the Polish territorial demands and has officially remonstrated with the Polish Government. The *Temps* had already warned the Poles in an obviously inspired article on August 21 against the "dangerous policy of 1772 frontiers." The advice to reject the Russian peace terms and the warning against territorial demands are equally consistent with the Polish policy of the Quai d'Orsay, which is influenced solely by regard for supposed French interests. The traditional French friendship for Poland, of which so much has been said in the French press of late, did not prevent the French Government in 1916 from making a secret treaty with Russia, to which England was a party, by which the Polish question was declared to be one of Russian internal politics and the Entente Governments agreed to hand over the whole of Poland to the Czar. Since the Russian Revolution restored Polish integrity and independence—for Poland owes her independence solely to the Russian Revolution—the policy of the Quai d'Orsay has been to make Poland a strong military power able to act as a buffer against Communist Russia on the one hand and Germany on the other. It has been hoped that Poland might even be strong enough to be the instrument of the Entente in overthrowing the Russian Republic and restoring Czarism. Any attempt on the part of Poland to recover her 1772 frontiers would not fit in with that policy. The aim of the Quai d'Orsay, and of the group of Russian Czarist *émigrés* in Paris by whom its policy is influenced, is to reincorporate the border states in a restored Russian empire. It would not suit them at all that those states or any of them should be absorbed by Poland. But, since the Quai d'Orsay and the Russian *émigrés* want to use Poland as a catspaw, it is essential to their policy that Poland should be armed to the teeth; hence the advice to the Polish Government to reject the Russian peace terms, of which the partial disarmament of Poland is the most essential. For peace would be useless to Russia without a great reduction in the Polish army as a guaranty against another attack. Such a reduction would also be to the real interest of Poland, for the maintenance of a large army is a terrible drain on the resources of an impoverished country. And Poland does not need a large army, unless for purposes of aggression. Unhappily the Poles, since they recovered their independence, have embarked on a policy of aggression, which has earned them the hostility of all their neighbors—Czechs, Lithuanians, White Russians, and Ukrainians, no less than that of Communist Russia.

The imperialist policy of the Polish Government has been severely and rightly blamed in England, but sufficient allowance has not been made for the pressure of the Entente. The truth is that while the Poles began the war for imperialist aims of their own they have continued it chiefly to oblige the Entente. The Polish invasion of Lithuania last year on the pretext of liberating it from bolshevist rule was an imperialist enterprise. The Poles did not even pretend that the Lithuanians had asked for their help; they said that the Polish inhabitants of Lithuania, who are in a small minority, had asked for it. The demand now made for Vilna shows what the real object of the unsuccessful aggression was. But in September of last year the Poles had had enough of war and M. Paderewski, then Prime Minister, came to Paris and London to inform Clemenceau and Lloyd George that both he and General Pilsudski were strongly of opinion that it was impossible for Poland to continue the war and that peace should be made with Russia. Clemenceau and Lloyd George insisted on the continuance of the war and the latter promised M. Paderewski "the fullest economic and military support of the Entente." At the end of December Clemenceau made his famous barbed-wire speech in the French Chamber, in which he declared his opinion that the Poles would beat the Russians without help, but said that, if they were not strong enough, he counted on the Czecho-Slovaks, the Rumanians, and others to go to their aid. Clemenceau added, with truth, that Lloyd George was in complete agreement with him.

A few months later, however, Mr. Lloyd George, of whom the Poles have reason to complain, changed his mind and, when the Polish offensive against Kiev was proposed, he discouraged it and said that the British Government would give no assistance to the Poles if they made the offensive. The French Government, which has been much more consistent in its policy throughout, urged the Poles to make the offensive. In a recent issue of the *Stampa* an Italian officer attached to the Italian Military Mission at Warsaw described the efforts made by the French Military Mission there to push Poland into the offensive, to which General Pilsudski seems to have been rather unfavorable. The object of the French Government and of the Russian *émigrés* in Paris was to use Poland to help Wrangel. General Pilsudski refused to fall in entirely with their plans and determined to get something for Poland, if possible. He, therefore, made an agreement with the Ukrainian adventurer, Petlura, who promised concessions to Poland at the expense of Ukraine. The convenient pretext of liberating Ukraine from bolshvist rule, which had already served for Lithuania, was put forward to justify the invasion, but the Ukrainians, like the Lithuanians, strongly objected to be-

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ing "liberated.' When the Polish army was driven back by the Russians, the Ukrainians formed a volunteer corps to harass its retreat, as Major Etchegoyen, a French officer with the Polish army, testified in the *Matin* of August 11. The offensive against Kiev was, therefore, partly a Polish imperialist adventure, but even more an enterprise of the French Government and the Russian *émigrés* at the expense of Poland.

The Quai d'Orsay and the Russian *émigrés* are now dissatisfied with General Pilsudski, against whom certain French papers have been conducting a campaign for the last fortnight. The dissatisfaction was due partly to the failure of the offensive, partly to the refusal of General Pilsudski to be a mere tool of Russian reaction. Indeed on August 10 and 11 the *Matin* became suddenly anti-Polish, evidently under official inspiration, and seemed to be preparing French public opinion for the decision arrived at by Lloyd George and Millerand at Hythe to advise the Polish Government to make peace and inform it that it would receive no further support from the Entente if it rejected the Russian peace terms, unless they contained anything incompatible with the independence of Poland. There is too much reason to believe that President Wilson's note induced the French Government to change its mind and to encourage the Poles to continue the war.

On August 10 the *Matin* and the Paris *New York Herald* published what purported to be a communication of the State Department at Washington, which represented Mr. Wilson as hostile to Poland, with the head-line: "The United States Government takes sides against Poland." The following quotation from the document was given:

> The attitude of Russia is that of America in 1776. It is that of legitimate defense. As for the army, it is called Red or bolshevist because Lenin is at the head of the Moscow Government, but it is not a bolshevist army, it is a Russian army.

The alleged note, according to the *Matin*, went on to say that the Russians had no territorial ambitions and there was no ground for saying that they had any designs against the sovereignty of Poland. American policy desired to safeguard Russian territory until the Russian people had settled its own affairs and hoped that peace and order would be restored to Russia. The *Matin* added that the hand of Mr. Wilson was visible in the note, which had been published after a long consultation at the White House between Mr. Wilson, Mr. Colby, and Mr. Davis. The *New York Herald* also attributed the note to Mr. Wilson himself, but the *Temps* the same evening said that it was founded on a press message from Washington without any official character.

On the same day the *Matin* published a long dispatch from its special correspondent at Hythe, the gist of which was that the Poles did not seem to wish to go on fighting. One of the cross-headings in the article was: "La défaillance de Pilsudski," which may be freely translated: "Pilsudski shows the white feather." The next day the *Matin* published the article by Major Etchegoyen already mentioned, with the title: "How the Poles have fallen out with all their neighbors." The major described from his own experience the way in which the aggressive policy of the Poles had made them generally disliked. On the following evening, August 12, the *Temps* published the authentic text of the American note and the tone of the *Matin* completely changed. On August 11 it had declared the Poles to be impossible people who quarreled with everybody; on August 13 it was ready to defend Poland to the last drop of Polish, Cossack, Rumanian, or Hungarian blood. To save its face, it alleged that the communication published on August 10 was of English origin. This is quite untrue, for the communication in question was unknown in England, where the press did not understand allusions to it in telegrams from Paris and Washington.

The truth is that the communication published in the *Matin* and the *New York Herald* on August 10 was semi-official. This is shown not only by the way in which it appeared in the *Matin* in the most prominent place on the front page without any indication of origin, but also by a Reuter telegram from Washington published in the London papers on August 16, which spoke of the "action of the French Foreign office in issuing to the French press an entirely unofficial newspaper article as an official communication of the United States." No doubt the American Government learned the origin of the communication from the *New York Herald.* My conclusion is that on August 10 the Quai d'Orsay had decided to throw over Poland, unless the Poles consented to make peace, and changed its mind on the receipt of the authentic American note. The recognition of Wrangel on August 12 was probably a compensation given by Millerand to members of his Cabinet that reproached him for having agreed to the decisions of Hythe.

The recognition of Wrangel was a breach of faith on the part of Millerand, who had agreed at Hythe to take no step until it was known whether the Russian peace terms were acceptable. It made Lloyd George exceedingly angry, especially as the French Government took the offensive course of communicating it to the press before informing the British Government, so that Lloyd George first learned it from the papers. Encouraged by the American note the French Government widened the breach with England by advising the Poles to continue the war. The Poles deliberately, on the advice of the French Government, delayed the armistice negotiations until they were ready to make a counter-offensive. Now the situation is complicated by the strange ultimatum sent from Lucerne by Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Giolitti to the Russian Government, which has been taken generally both in England and France as a sign of another change of policy on Mr. Lloyd George's part. The members of the Russian mission have declared their intention of leaving the country, and the Council of Action representing British Labor has issued a strong protest and has sent out notices to the trade unions to prepare for a general strike. I doubt whether this interpretation is the true one. No doubt Mr. Lloyd George lost his temper when he received reports from Poland that the Russians were trying to impose a "workmen's militia" and that partly accounts for the insulting language of the Lucerne note to Russia. But I am inclined to think that Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Giolitti wished to give a purely verbal satisfaction to M. Millerand in order to be in a strong position to impose peace on the Poles and resume relations with Russia. The militia question is of no importance and is already disposed of by the reply of the Russian Government consenting to withdraw the proposal.

Meanwhile the independence of Poland is threatened from the West, not from the East—from Paris, not from Moscow. The Polish Government has been almost set aside. The control of the Polish army has been taken out of the hands of the Poles, and the result has been, as the French press

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rightly claims, a "French" victory in every sense of the term. Emissaries of the French Government, of the Russian *émigrés*, and of the Vatican are interfering in Polish internal politics and intriguing against General Pilsudski. For the Vatican is entirely in agreement with the French Government in regard to Poland, since it desires a reactionary Catholic Power to take the place of the Austrian Empire. The candidate of the Quai d'Orsay, the Russian *émigrés*, and the Vatican is M. Dmowski, who is at present at Posen surrounded by Russian counter-revolutionaries, including Bourtzeff, who has arrived from Paris with two million francs from the French Government, and Savinkoff. Dangerous to Poland and to Europe as are the imperialist ambitions of General Pilsudski, M. Dmowski would be far worse. He is a reactionary clerical and anti-semite, who would be the tool of the Quai d'Orsay, the Vatican, and the Russian counter-revolutionaries. His policy would be one of pogroms and a White Terror at home and continued war to restore reaction in Russia. He wants, as the Warsaw correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* said in that paper on August 25, "a great reactionary Russia with a reactionary Poland attached to it parasitically—a Slav junker paradise."

New England and the Novel

By ROBERT HERRICK

THERE have been New Englanders who have written novels about New England, of course. Witness Hawth rne! And Miss Jewett, and Mrs. Freeman, and Mrs. Deland (men's names seem rarer), and a tapering host of others. There have also been New Englanders by birth and tradition, who, having penetrated the unfamiliar wilds below the Bronx and across the Hudson, have reported what they found there. If we were to abstract from American literature—as from American politics and business—all that had been done for it in various ways by the sons and daughters and near relatives of New England, there would be a great void, hard to fill from the contributions of other provinces. It may be said in passing that the New Englander thrives, once get him beyond the severities of his own lean dooryard, and expresses himself with a renewed vigor and freedom of spirit—just as transplanted to prairie corn lands he once more begot families of patriarchal proportions and added weight as well as stature to himself. The transmigrations and transformations of the Puritan offer an alluring subject!

Finally, there is the clear outsider, the stranger who comes to New England as to a Mecca of the arts and amenities like the young Howells, and puts down what he sees there with all the zest of the discoverer. Mark Twain lived often on the edge of New England, but was not markedly affected by the circumstance. Howells, on the other hand, owed much to his chosen country: the dates of his arrival and departure from Boston inclose his most fertile period, and the odor of New England lingered long in his fiction after his departure, almost to the last. There is also some part of the more direct Henry James, much of Edith Wharton, to be accredited to the New England account, and lastly must not be forgotten the New Hampshire chronicles of Winston Churchill, who has adopted New England.

I do not know that it makes much difference whether a province is immortalized by its own children or by adopted ones, whether an outsider or an insider gives the final judgment of record, though we are apt to think that the insider knows us more intimately. Yet who better than Howells of Ohio discerned the pettinesses as well as the nobilities of New England? . . . Nor, in fact, do I believe that it makes a vast difference whether one section of a people gets itself into the record more abundantly than another. The era of a puffing sectionalism has long past. Are we about to witness the end of arrogant nationalisms also?

And yet New England, if no longer possessing an individual and distinct pedestal of its own in our national culture, once arrogated to itself a special place in all things—and has not forgotten it. The Brahmin type was known by the superior air. I should say that the superior air—the consciousness of otherness—was long the most characteristic mark of New England, and still lingers in remote corners of Cambridge and Boston, although most grounds for pretention have so completely vanished. Superiority of inheritance, of education, of pronunciation, of manners, of morals, above all! The true New Englander was stamped by an inward satisfaction that often made him seem priggish, provincial, and odious to the more common person born beyond the Hudson, below the Bronx. Was it justified? Is such a pride of past performance ever justified in any human soul? I doubt it. And I am positive that this superiority was never justified by triumphs in fiction, in the records of imaginative prose that New England has inspired. There was, of course, Hawthorne, and there one must stop and take a very long breath before venturing to name at random the "others." For Hawthorne in some extraordinary way seems to have taken possession of the New England scene, to have absorbed in his art its one creative theme and to have exhausted it (though faithful gleaners still toil in the field apparently unaware that the sheaves have long since been garnered and carted to the mill).

Hawthorne's great theme was sin. It is safe to say that it is the one important theme that New England ever enjoyed thoroughly. Hawthorne came upon it at the moment when sin as a theme was ripe for art, when it had most resonance and appeal, and yet when men began to feel free to talk about it. It was the appointed time for exploiting in art that human consciousness of sin which had been accumulating in the race for bitter generations. What is truly remarkable to my thinking is that Hawthorne, saturated with Salem and sin as he was, managed to maintain the artist's aloofness and objectivity toward his theme. Recognizing the possibilities of the situation, he exploited them to the full. But—and here I am aware that I must scandalize the orthodox—Hawthorne himself never took sin too seriously. It was for him a matter of art not life. He did not write tracts—he left that to Mrs. Stowe and all the many others. He seized upon a superb opportunity in human material offered by a sin-terrified community, and he painted men and women sinning, afraid to sin, repenting of sin, suffering from sin, punishing sin—yes, more rarely, slyly, rejoicing and prospering in sin. He got all there was in sin as a theme, and by and large his product will remain as much a monument to the power of art to triumph over such a stubborn and unattractive subject as sin, as a record of the lights and shadows of a Puritan civilization. Hawthorne's work is preserved in the amber of his objective art, while the efforts of the legion who gleaned in his footsteps are already showing the black shadows and little more.

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For there have been, naturally, many "others," working diligently in this field of sin. In fact sin has cursed the imagination of the New England novelist. Even the outsider of healthier inheritance falls under the evil spell of the common preoccupation with sin, and a kindly, humorous man like Howells, an honest and robust writer like Mr. Churchill, take to prodding the human conscience and recording its sickly writhings as soon as they feel the east wind coming up across Massachusetts Bay. The output from New England might be labeled inclusively "Studies in Sin and Its After Effects." If old memories do not betray me, Mary Wilkins Freeman did them best, in a grim, unsentimental way that had a faintly Continental flavor. But her method was too brittle: her pictures fell apart into episodes. It was, too, the weakened, anemic second generation of sin that she dealt with, and she launched into no epics. Latterly in the hands of lesser folk the great theme has degenerated from sin to conduct and manners. The stinging consciousness of sin, which lent dignity to the earlier literature, became a morbid anxiety about appearances, and the artist's effort, what might be called a taste for spiritual window dressing.

But is sin in itself, unrelieved, a good and sufficient theme for a vigorous art? Even with a Hawthorne and a George Eliot in mind I doubt it. Is man living with a sense of sin sufficiently large, varied, and noble a subject to offer the artist that spiritual ecstasy which must enter into the creation of all enduring art? Looking over the result of a too intense preoccupation with this gloomy theme in New England, one feels that man—or woman—viewed solely as a sinning human animal is lacking in sustained interest. And in those later manifestations of conduct and manners the substance becomes the ghost of a ghost in relation to human life. It is not until the Puritan, happily escaped from the too intolerable consciousness of sin, permits himself to look abroad and discover smiling landscapes, to realize that after all life has its amenities as well as its austerities, its unclouded, unsinning moments, that the creative spirit rises once more in his breast and he resumes his song. In those more spacious worlds that open to his vision both within and without, sin sinks to its proper perspective in the whole host of human impulses and no longer gloomily bullies the soul of the artist.

And yet New England on the face of it was a fit and proper field for large fiction. Why did not her artists struggle free from the obsession with sin? When her literature degenerated into a discussion of conduct and manners, why was it not more invigorating, more cosmopolitan, more national? A homogeneous province, this corner of the aging New World, yet with sufficient diversity physical and social to offer those shades of character and environment necessary for the artist, sufficiently contrasted between sea and hill, town and city, and lived in for nearly three hundred years by one of the purest races left on the earth in matter of blood descent. Surely Hardy's England offered nothing more promising, nor Trollope's. Balzac and Zola and Tolstoy had richer inheritances, to be sure, but did Goethe or Ibsen or Strindberg? . . . It would not be easy to find a more appealing country than New England, with sweeter, homelier memories, intimately mingled with the lives of generations of men—a land not flowing with milk and honey, but full of pungent associations, and ripe for the seer's vision. . . . Destined to become a huge vacation camp and a machine shop filled with alien labor!

For a while New England seemed eager to grasp her rich heritage, to become the leader of that material expansion which swept the nation after the Civil War. For a brief generation New England participated in the riot of exploitation. Then swiftly her leadership, financial and economic, faded away. The control of her own enterprises fell from nerveless Brahmin hands, and New England relapsed into the passivity of four per cents, from which she has never tried to reawaken. What happened in State Street merely foreshadowed what was happening inwardly, spiritually, to old New England. She was withering. In a world that had apparently thrown off the burden of sin and was rioting forth to joyous enterprises of possession and exploration (which must lead inevitably to new conflicts and new tragedies) New England had nothing to offer but—Mugwumpery.

The sturdier members of the community were irresistibly drawn by the magnet of the new West, by the pioneer lure that had drawn their fathers across the Atlantic. They sallied forth to conquests elsewhere, and wherever and whatever of American achievement there has been since the Civil War, high on the monuments will be found New England names. But for the homeland the term "abandoned farm" was being coined, to which might have been added the equally damnatory designation, "anemic town." New England in sad fact became the shell of itself, and art does not flourish in a shell among a withering people. State Street surrendered its railroads, its mines, its great telephone property, and other material assets to bolder, more grasping hands, and New England became a small province of the financial world, inhabited by respectable investors (who kept their stocks and bonds long after the buccaneer outsiders had robbed them of the substance of their properties). And the full irony of destiny is now working: in that part of our nation which braved the wilds to worship God freely, that first raised the standard of emancipation for human slaves, that led the young republic to higher, finer things, a Henry Cabot Lodge is the prophet, snarling pitifully against the future, standing guard over the four per cents and the ancient memories. And a commonplace governor asks us to "Have Faith in Massachusetts"! For what pray, should we have faith in Massachusetts?

New England preserved her families, her four per cents, and her pretensions to culture. For somehow "culture" lives on in a barren soil from which life and art have long since fled in despair. Boston still cherished the illusion of intellectual leadership though its books were published in New York and its plays made on Broadway or in London. But what economic law might have spared in its inexorable working—an experimenting and expressing spirit—the Back Bay and Cambridge between them have contrived utterly to extirpate. A record of this lamentable fact has been made recently in that extraordinary performance in unconscious revelation, "The Education of Henry Adams." The one unmentioned inference, the one unmistakable fact that stares out at the New Englander from every page of that confession and self-appraisement is sterility—spiritual impotence, so much more devastating than physical. And the Back Bay does not even see it! It is complacent or proud of the performance, which exposes to their children's children the secret of their futility. Where the Adamses once struggled and ruled—and incidentally believed in God—their impotent descendant theorizes charmingly and wittily about a universe that somehow no longer seems to offer opportunity for an Adams. Of the new surge of impulses in

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our America he was wholly oblivious, though he lived in what he judged to be the local center, a short block from the White House, and journeyed back from time to time to that Europe which was still to him the sole fount of inspiration.

It is a final word. Once read and understood—as only a New Englander who has had dim perceptions of the ancestral blight within his own veins can understand it—this revelation is the writing on the tomb. Thus nature in her fashion has completed the circuit and grounded the human wire. It is a far cry from the agitations about sin. This product of the culture of Cambridge and the Back Bay, descendant of the grim Puritan line, no longer has the invitation or the capacity to sin.

It may appear superflous after thus lifting the burial cloths from the dead to peer into the future. But it is impossible for one whose people lived in the old homesteads and now lie buried on the country hillsides of New England not to wonder and speculate about that future. Out of the aristocratic mansions of Salem and Newburyport and the weathered farm houses along the roads now peer the swarthy faces of aliens of many races. Even in those stony fields so laboriously cleared from the wilderness by the forefathers the Greek, the Pole, the Russian plow and reap. New England industrially at any rate is a lost province. Its own people are a mere handful of its busy, increasing millions: the rest are strangers, in mill, factory, farm—strangers with strange instincts in their blood. The bareheaded Italian still seems odd in our narrow streets. The soft Levantine accent sounds out of place in colonial rooms. The bearded Pole looks queer in the meadow pasture, the infiltrating Jew absurd in the old corner store. But these oddities of contrast will quickly disappear. For these aliens have inherited the land and are literally making it their own, through no fault of theirs. What they will do with it, what they will think and say about life when they are ripe for expression—not for another generation at least—no man can tell. But of one thing we may be sure: they will not be cursed with the consciousness of sin, and their literature whatever it may contain will not be based on the one old theme. If after they have come up out of bondage in mill and field they can sing joyously, if they can infuse into their mixed heritage the one ingredient that the old New Englander could never assimilate, joy, and celebrate a vigorous and rejoicing New England—then our world will, indeed, have a new wine in an old bottle—and possibly a rare one.

But the day of ghosts has passed forever.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter patriotically paid fifteen cents to the Local Chapter of the D. A. R. for the privilege of entering a sweet little, neat little house entitled "Historical Society" in the hope of finding therein a short "History of the Vineyard," for there is something alluring about the age-old, complacent village of Edgartown and its inhabitants of ancient lineage that makes one wonder why, whence, and wherefore. The Drifter didn't find the History, but was recommended to Bank's History, 2 Vols., $5.00, to be had free, however, at the little, brick, "colonial" library that is so tasteful and modest, so pathetically modern. Perhaps some day he will peruse those volumes. But in the meantime he allows himself to be led about by a young lady with a cleft palate who was intimate with the daughters of some of the old portraits, and who would chatter about the cradle fired upon by the British—how disloyal to mention such deeds of our late allies!—and about the bonnets and the hoods of the Mayhews, the guns of the Chadwicks, and Madame Nordica's collection [a Norton of Edgartown off stage], when all the time the Drifter wanted to read the paper about Lincoln's assassination and the messages from Jeff Davis to his people, and the account of the town of Katama, and of the West Tisbury township. And as the Drifter passed on with a sigh, he caught sight of a portrait of a fine old citizen, and suddenly the cloud behind the silver lining of this quaint and lovable spot was revealed in that temple—for it was the image of the town simpleton. *The* town simpleton? In nearly every house you find one lurking—apologized for quietly by a look or a word by the mother with the soft, cultivated voice and the refined, pure American face. Too pure, the Drifter fears—for the island intermarriage has not quite been saved by the fine healthy Portuguese fishing colony that has sprung up on its shores. And so the Drifter sighed his sigh, and went his way. And as he went he thought a little about ancient lineage and purity of blood and alien invasions. And he wondered.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Olympian Error in the A. P.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your journal is something of a "journal of Journalists," therefore I am writing you to ask you to call public attention to a most inexact, unscholarly, and impossible use of the word "Olympiad" which I notice has become the current usage in respect to the Olympic Games, so-called. Thus the Associated Press dispatch reads: "The Americans excel in the Olympiad." This is not correct diction. The word Olympiad denotes the period of time comprehended between the holding of the games, and was used by the Greeks to fix dates. An "Olympiad" is therefore a unit of time, not a general name for a series of games or sports. It would be deplorable if this barbarism should become fixed usage in America.

Baltimore, August 18 OSCAR WOODWARD ZEIGLER

8 Per Cent Ale and 8 Cent Milk

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your last I read your article on milk. Did it ever occur to you that prohibition has brought about higher prices of milk, as practically all dairies on Long Island and within a radius of ten to twenty miles of large cities have gone out of business because they could not purchase cheap brewers' grain, an excellent feed for milk cows. Also that prohibition brought our sugar imports up to seven and a half billion pounds. Most of this sugar is used in homes to make strong drink. Would not ales of low alcoholic content bring a big revenue to Uncle Sam, give us a large amount of fine cheap cattle feed, reduce the price of milk and sugar, keep that money in our country, and you could again buy healthy fresh milk in New York for ten cents a quart? That would mean much to the children. Every large city could have herds of fine cows—New York could have a herd in Central Park and one in Bronx Park—the brewers would gladly furnish the feed cheap and our hospitals and poor could purchase pure, fresh milk for eight cents a quart. Does not this merit your attention?

New York, August 10 ARMIN

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From an Island

By LEONORA SPEYER

Sea-Fog

The summer day draws the grayness closer
And shuts its shining eyes,
To the crooning of the horn.

Gulls flap unevenly through the muffled hours,
Spaces listen in hiding.

And the horn,
Like an old nurse,
Croons on in wordless monotone,
"Ooh—ooh—ooh—"

Bell-Buoys

Out in the dim harbor
I hear the sound of bells:
Out on the gray-blue meadows of the sea
I think mild water-cattle graze
Among the ripples.

Swallows

They dip their wings in the sunset,
They dash against the air
As if to break themselves upon its stillness:
In every movement, too swift to count,
Is a revelry of indecision,
A furtive delight in trees they do not desire
And in long grasses that shall not know their weight.

They hover and lean toward the meadow
With little edged cries,
And then,
As if frightened at the earth's nearness,
They seek the high austerity of evening-sky
And swirl into its depth.

Books

Dynamic Symmetry

Dynamic Symmetry. The Greek Vase. By Jay Hambidge. Yale University Press.

EVER since the Pythagoreans, in the fifth century B. C., succeeded in dividing a line-segment so that the rectangle of the whole and one of the parts was equal to the square on the other part, their problem has attracted the attention and maintained the interest of the mathematical world. A line-segment 5 inches long, divided approximately in this way, would have as the lengths of its two parts 2 inches and 3 inches. Taking closer approximations, a line-segment is so divided when we cut it in the ratio 5 to 8, 8 to 13, or 13 to 21. Speaking precisely, the ratio is that of $(\sqrt{5}-1)$ to 2. This division of a line has gone by various names, such as "divine proportion" and "extreme and mean ratio"; but the favorite for the last hundred years has been "the golden section."

Aside from the mathematical interest involved in the problem and in such applications as that relating to the construction of the regular decagon, two other lines of interest have developed during the many centuries which have elapsed since the Greek geometers discovered their solution. One of these connects the "golden section" with forms found in nature, such as the fern leaf, the nautilus, and those vegetable products in which the regular pentagon occurs. It also has been connected with the arrangement of leaves about a stalk; in general it seems to rank with axial symmetry as one of nature's favorite basal forms.

The second line of interest relating to the *sectio aurea*, to take the Latin form of the name, is the one which connects the idea with art, in particular with architecture, painting, and the plastic arts. This was first considered, in a work of any importance, by an Italian mathematician, Pietro della Francesca, toward the close of the fifteenth century. His manuscript was extensively used without credit, after the manner of the time, by Fra Luca di Borgo San Sepolcro, whose family name was Pacioli, in preparing a work which he published in 1509. This work was entitled *De diuina proportione epistola*, and it considered the relation of the "golden section" to painting, sculpture, architecture, and other branches of art. So closely was this work connected with aesthetics that, so the legend runs, the geometric drawings for it were made by none other than Leonardo da Vinci himself.

From that time until the present the element of the "golden section" has been recognized as important in all branches of art in which pleasing proportion of line plays any part. The literature upon the subject is extensive, not only in works on art but in those on psychology and even in those relating to industry.

What Mr. Hambidge has done is to show how the "golden section" appears in the designs for certain Greek vases not heretofore studied. He also shows how such incommensurable lines as the diagonal and the sides of certain rectangles, including squares, enter into the plans of works of this kind. With these ideas the world of art has long been more or less familiar, and the works involving the plans and measurements of works of Greek art are very numerous. What seems to distinguish this particular study is the effort, apparently quite subconsciously made, to cover the whole matter with an air of mystery. This has been done by the familiar device, prehistoric in origin and perennial in its growth, of creating a new vocabulary. No one who studies the history of philosophy, of medicine, of law, of theology, or of modern education, can fail to be impressed with the fact that the clothing of perfectly commonplace ideas in an unfamiliar linguistic garb is a potent method of attracting attention and of laying claim to discovery. Such a plan is always defended by the assertion that a technical vocabulary is necessary, an assertion that is usually without much justification.

The reader who opens Mr. Hambidge's book meets on the frontispiece "a theme in root-two" and at once feels his ignorance. He looks on the title-page and sees "Dynamic Symmetry," and wonders. He learns in the "Foreword" that "static symmetry" is employed most naturally by artists. He finds that the author has created a special meaning for an ancient method of mathematics known as the "rule of three." He sees that this idea is legitimately connected with a logarithmic spiral which the author makes no attempt to explain. He then comes upon "radii vectors" which, if he is a mathematical reader, will be understood, but which will otherwise stand merely as a piece of mixed Latin and English.

After leading his reader thus far, the author drops the curve and returns to the rectilinear framework on which it is formed and which could have been better reached without any confusion of terms. He then introduces the term "reciprocal rectangle," without definition, and states that the square root of two is an "indeterminate fraction," by which he means that this perfectly determinate expression has no common measure with unity—that it is what a mathematician might call either an irrational number or an incommensurable number. The statement is next made that "there exists a series of rectangles whose sides are divided into equal parts by the perpendicular to the diagonal," which is perfectly true, but which is so ob-

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scured by the preceding terminology and the complicated steps which have led up to it as to be unintelligible to all except those whose memory of elementary mathematics enables them to discard the non-essentials and see the simple result at which the author has arrived. In order to mystify the reader still further the author now calls this figure a "root-two rectangle," meaning simply that its form is such that if the width is 1 the length is $\sqrt{2}$. In a similar way he uses the terms "root-three rectangle," "root-four rectangle," and so on. Here he pauses to say that Fibonacci was "the man who introduced into Europe the Arabic system of notation," whereas any historian could have told him that these numerals were known in that part of the world more than two centuries earlier. He also tells what Gerard (by which name he refers to Albert Girard) did for a certain series of numbers—which has no special bearing upon the matter in hand.

The author now proceeds to discuss a certain form of rectangle which he shows is found in the study of leaf distribution in plants, that in which the width is 1 and the length is $\frac{1}{2}(\sqrt{5}-1)$, although this precise relation is not stated in the present connection. It is merely the "golden section" ratio, and it could have been set forth much more clearly and in much briefer space. Such a rectangle has certain interesting geometric properties, and in one of these the author feels that he sees a reason for calling it "the rectangle of the whirling squares," thus adding to the difficulties of the reader and contributing nothing whatever to the subject in hand.

Thus far the reader will have finished Chapter I, and he may well pause and consider the situation. He has learned that there are "two types of symmetry or proportion, one of which is possessed of qualities of activity, the other of passivity." What these types are he does not know, and why one is called active and the other passive he is not told. There seems to be no good reason, and so he proceeds to learn that something is to be called "dynamic symmetry." Through a maze he is led to a very simple rectangle which can be formed by taking the side of any square for its width and the diagonal of that square for its length; for his convenience he might much better call this "rectangle A" than use the author's "root-two rectangle." Such a figure has various numerical properties, and is met not infrequently in art.

The reader now learns about the mysterious rectangle which is known as "the rectangle of the whirling squares." It is really nothing but a rectangle formed in this simple manner: Take the side of a regular decagon as the width of the rectangle, and the radius of that decagon as the length. Such a rectangle could easily be drawn; it could be designated as "type D"; such of its properties as are to be used could be set forth briefly, and its relation to the "golden section" could be explained in two or three lines.

It does not seem desirable to consider the work in further detail. Stripped of its mystery and set forth in simple language it would have been an interesting work. The care taken in drawing the figures and in making the measurements has been great. The reader will regret the minute letters that appear in the photographic reductions, though if he has not heretofore considered the case of certain incommensurable lines in art he will find much in these drawings to stimulate him. But that anything has been gained by taking a few perfectly simple geometric propositions and making them well-nigh unintelligible to the average reader, and particularly to the artist who is the one to profit by the relations set forth, is not merely open to doubt—it can safely be denied in no uncertain terms, and none the less uncertain because this particular treatise has been highly praised in many quarters.

It would be superfluous to speak of the lack of care in the final work upon the text, but it must be a matter of regret to a scholar like Professor Archibald that he did not personally read the proof of that part of the appendix which contains his valuable historical study.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH

A Guide to Russian Literature

A Guide to Russian Literature (1820-1917). By Moissaye J. Olgin. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

THE interpretation of Russian literaure for the English-reading public has hitherto suffered from a twofold limitation; it has been the work of non-Russians, and it has been the work of literary students inadequately grounded in the social and political problems of the country. Waliszewski the Gallicized Pole, Brückner the German, and Maurice Baring the Englishman have provided us with our critical perspective. Inevitably each man, viewing the field from his own angle of vision, has selected and proportioned the materials in accordance with the artistic and psychological standards of his country. His history carries the imprint of the national character, as well as of his own individual bias. When literatures are as closely allied as are those of Western Europe, the ordinary process of transmission is fairly adequate, especially as it is corrected by the existence of a certain degree of first-hand familiarity with the foreign literature in its original form. In the case of Russian there is not only a complete unacquaintance with the language to act as a fence to the understanding of the reader, but there is an estranging difference in the motive power which created the chief literary manifestations of the nineteenth century and hence in the basis of critical valuation. In no European country have the political, the social, and the economic problems been so direct a concern of the literary artist, the line between publicist and poet so indistinct. Nowhere is a plainer force attached to the much-used phrase about literature and life. In Russia one cannot set up as a critic of literature without first having qualified as a critic of society. Literature for its own sake, the expression of an individualistic, self-justifying search for beauty, has its talented exponents, but it is only in the last generation that the aesthetic hierophants of the cult of personality have made their voices distinctly heard. Russian life and thought are what they are at this moment because of the writing of poets like Pushkin, Lermontov, and Nekrasov, of critics like Byelinsky, of publicists like Chernishevsky, Pisarev, and Mikhailovsky, and of socially-conscious novelists like Turgenev, Tolstoy, and Gorky.

A reader of English may now follow the Russian approach to literature under the excellent guidance of Mr. Olgin's volume. Mr. Olgin combines an initiate's grasp of the political and social background of his country with an intense and catholic appreciation of its literature, and his command of incisive and pictorial English might be envied by writers to whom the tongue is native. He opens up attractive new stretches, although, alas, it is impossible to explore the prospects which he points to. Much of the literature which he describes remains indefinitely out of reach. The poets in particular, whether of the classical or of the modernist school, will scarcely ever be anything but names; attempts to render them into English have thus far resulted in sad prose. Mr. Olgin evidently makes no point of regarding the limited resources of those who do not read Russian, his idea being to present the literature that he considers vital for an understanding of the present tendencies in the life and thought of the people. On this principle his selection of writers and proportioning of space can be accounted for. The outstanding figures whose work is familiar to the western world are treated at no greater length than many writers whose very names have never passed beyond the confines of their speech. Tolstoy and Turgenev get no fuller discussion than Lyeskov or Sergeyev-Tzensky. The large emphasis on the contemporary generation, to which half the volume is devoted, and the omission of older writers whose importance has dwindled to the merely historical, serve further to distinguish the book as a guide to what is now living and active in Russian literature. In other respects, too, the presentation disregards conventional methods. The detached

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treatment of the individual authors with a descriptive account of their more important works, almost in the fashion of a catalogue, gives a mechanical air to the arrangement of the book, but it is not unsuited to the purposes of a guide. Not only does it direct the inquirer precisely to what he needs to read, but the discussion of movements and tendencies is thereby simplified to advantage. Whatever may be true of the arrangement of material, however, there is nothing mechanical about the discussion itself. Mr. Olgin writes with zestful enjoyment and fervent appreciation; if to some readers his appreciation should seem too uniform, he can again plead a guide's duty of impartiality. From the same motive he steers wide of controversial judgments in his individual estimates. The introductions to the three divisions in which he groups his materials are admirable in their expository compression, in their lucid revelation of intellectual and social clues to literary manifestations. The only thing we are inclined to complain of in Mr. Olgin is his excessive modesty. The abundant comments by authoritative Russian critics with which he supplements his own descriptions would in a book by an alien critic be very instructive; here their effect is, as a rule, one of redundancy. There is also a fault of omission which the publishers would do well to correct in a second edition: a list of available English translations is an obvious desideratum in a book like this, especially as it is destined to a long period of usefulness.

JACOB ZEITLIN

The Household Art

The Practical Book of Interior Decoration. By Harold Donaldson Eberlein, Abbot McClure, and Edward Stratton Holloway. J. B. Lippincott Company.

IT is safe to say that no human art is much older than that which today, for better or for worse, we call interior decoration. Indeed, from some of the monkey tricks which survive in it, one might guess that it is older than the human race. The geologist estimates its age from elementary sketches in line and color on the walls of once inhabited caves. Biologist and historian study it for its records of the beginnings of human life, and from cave pictures and the decoration of the first household utensils down through Greek vases and Pompeian wall paintings they read in it the history of civilization. It is no less universal than ancient. Probably no human being ever had a dwelling-place for more than a night or two without, in jest or earnest, adding something to its interior to gratify the eye. If everyone who practices the art wished to read about it, the subject would be the publisher's best friend. Certainly many do, and household magazines spread before us in periodic abundance pages of text and illustration for our guidance—fairly safe guides now-a-days; atrocities are still occasionally perpetrated, as they were frequently in the past, but most of the magazines play safe for mediocrity. The horrors are now largely relegated to the household page of the Sunday newspaper, where the blind lead the blind and without censor or censure exchange directions for crocheting "peacock tidies" and for making gilt picture frames of empty spools.

If peacock tidies and insurance calendars gratify a man's (it is not always the woman's) taste, wherein does he differ in satisfaction from one whose taste is gratified by an Adam drawing-room with Sheraton furniture? One generation prefers Adam and Sheraton, another indulges in monumental black walnut, haircloth, wax flowers under bell-glass, colossal crayon "enlargements," lambrequins, and Felicia Hemans's poems in padded alligator skin on the center table. Both indeed are gratified, but probably neither is satisfied. The conundrum of the workshops is the same to both, and the Devil whoops as he whooped of old. If they are sincere they are dealing with art, and art inevitably aspires. Probably if the case came to judgment, not even the proprietor of the black walnut and glass flowers would deny that Adam and Sheraton had aspired to something nearer the unseen common goal. Both had the satisfaction of reaching humanly near an ideal, but in the experience of art ideals humanly approached are but resting-places. He who rests with lambrequins and crayon enlargements can tarry but a night, for he has a devious way to go to reach such stations as Adam and Sheraton via neo-Grand Rapids and late East Aurora. As a rule he will recognize a short cut when he sees it, and it is missionary work to show him one.

Such is the function of "The Practical Book of Interior Decoration." Few know so much that they may not get at least a hint or two from it. He who knows nothing about art but is certain that he knows what he likes may learn why he likes it, or hear of something else he likes better; if he is interested enough in the subject to read the book through he will either support his taste by building a foundation under it, or it will fall and he will erect something in its place based on sound judgment. The reader with no taste at all stands a fair chance to form one if he will read with attention. The one person who will get nothing from the book is he who wishes to know how to make an arm-chair of an old barrel or a rustic sofa from last year's bean-poles. It does not tell how to do such things, nor yet "how to furnish the living-room." But it does detail the ways in which many beautiful rooms have been decorated and furnished. One of the valuable contributions it makes to the equipment of the ordinary reader is a history of the art for the last four centuries in four countries where its history is richest, England, France, Italy, and Spain, a history such as he could hardly put together for himself and have on his shelves save at the expense of many volumes. It includes a discussion of Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, and Neo-Classic decoration in each of the countries named, illustrated by a convenient reference chart indicating the characteristic manifestation of each system and the period of its appearance in each of the countries—a leading and kindly light in a complicated maze. This historical material is in itself a foundation of taste, or a justification to him who has it but knows not whence or how, and the many fine old interiors shown in the numerous plates and illustrations are able teachers of the art. All this amply prepares the reader for the explanation in Part II of the modern practice, and makes clear whence the principles are drawn and how they are applied. It is sound teaching, for however plain it may be that the authors have tastes and opinions of their own, they attempt to show us not what we ought to like whether we like it or not but rather what the resources of the art are for obtaining such effects as we wish. The extremist will find here everything he needs except encouragement; he who is anxious to have his rooms express his individuality learns that the art cannot deny him expression, and may even afford him revelation or betrayal.

The chapter on Color and Color Schemes is a welcome and lucid simplification of a subject which commonly gives rise to endless complications and subtleties. From the exposition of the Modern Movement one may learn to distinguish its elements from various neat and gaudy designs emanating in spirit if not in body from Vienna and Berlin, as well as to know Peasant and Cottage styles of furniture from Mission and Elbert Hubbard types. The Modern Movement is defined as the attempt to "teach use, convenience, and beauty by way of simplicity and balance on the one hand and fine, frank, cheerful color on the other."

The book is valuable in every way except as literature. One reads it with pleasure in the subject, but not with pleasure in the book. It is a pity, too, for the subject has made literature—many interiors in the best manner shine in the pages of English letters; to quote them would be to harmonize the text with the plates and lend grace to many a graceless chapter. Not every chapter is graceless; one or another of the three authors has notions of ease in another art than his own. But there are pockets of dry meal in the dough which do not make the book a whit more practical than it would have been if the whole were blended.

R. P. UTTER

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A Model for a World Court

Judicial Settlement of Controversies Between States of the American Union. Edited by James Brown Scott. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

THE choice before the world in 1919 finds something of a parallel in that before the thirteen American States in 1787. They turned to a new sort of super-government with supreme legislative, executive, and judicial authority over certain common interests. To the new central judicial body was given jurisdiction over controversies between the States and over a variety of other disputes in which more than one State was interested. The American experiment has proved something of a success in the way of composing differences between the States. There was, it is true, a season of hard sledding when bullets took the place of briefs; but after a few years of trial by battle trial by argument was resumed. In the belief that "what forty-eight States of the American Union do, a like number of states forming the Society of Nations can also do," the secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has fathered the printing of the volumes under review. The material covers the American experience of judicial settlement of quarrels between States which in many respects are independent and sovereign. Two large volumes printed in America give verbatim the official reports of all the cases in which a State has sued a State. The chief characteristic of the editing is its absence. A third volume, printed in England and called "an analysis," rehashes the material already given. Some is omitted and some turned into indirect discourse; but "otherwise," says the preface, each case is allowed "to tell its story in the language of the Court and of the Judge delivering its opinion." The grapes are pressed too gently to yield much juice, and adequate precautions are taken against fermentation.

Fortunately the Carnegie Endowment can afford the wanton waste of money which this unexpurgated copying involves. Yet it might be thought that for art's sake it would prefer to put its editing into more competent and conscientious hands. It would have taken so little thought to omit the thirty pages given to a survey of the boundary line between Missouri and Iowa. "Brushy branch," "wet swale," "rolling prairie," "sparse timber" are reported mile by mile for one hundred and fifty miles. Similar follies abound. What illumination can world organizers extract from several hundred pages of such topographical details? The only thing worth telling is the fact that the Supreme Court fixed the boundary. The absence of any classification enhances the uselessness of the volumes. Suits involving claims for money are not segregated from suits over boundaries. Questions of jurisdiction and of the enforcement of decrees are not separated from the mass. Opinions on different aspects of the same controversy are not grouped together. The only order is the order of time. This gives us a crazy-quilt with patches of different controversies put on helter-skelter according to the whims of the calendar of the court. In the "analysis" a few uninforming headings are introduced at aesthetic intervals on the title page, but their appeal is only to the eye. All we have is a pile of bricks, with no semblance of a structure. Yet one exception to the absence of editing is to be noted. This seems to spring from the heart rather than from the head. A kindly instinct to let bygones be bygones pauses at the Declaration of Independence. It compromises by leaving out the unkind remarks about George III and his doings. Perhaps caution was blended with kindness. It may have been felt that this is no time to speak of self-determination and the right of revolution. Nothing offensive or dangerous appears to have been discovered in the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, for these are boldly printed in full. Those who have occasion to read them or to refer to the cases which have passed on disputes between the States will find it convenient to have the material accessible in two big books. Some few scholars may be saved a little physical effort by Dr. Scott's compilation. This is, however, all that can be said in favor of this pretentious performance.

Even without these shortcomings the work would serve but slightly the object for which it was designed. It shows that boundary disputes and claims for money can be submitted to an international tribunal for adjudication. We knew that before. Nations have done it. Such issues between nations are the least difficult to settle. They are minor matters when compared with the other discords that lead to diplomatic parley or to war. So the settlement by the Supreme Court of controversies formally between States is but a fraction of our American experience in resolving the conflicting interests of the States by lawsuits rather than by other forms of friction. Suits between individuals often involve disputes in which States would intervene if they were without a common superior. The commerce clause prevents a State from imposing a tariff on the products of a neighbor. It requires from each fair treatment of the commercial interests of the others. The Fourteenth Amendment keeps the States from poaching on the preserves of their sisters. The privileges and immunities clause saves citizens of one State from being treated as aliens in another. These constitutional clauses are invoked by private litigants. If the injury resented were done by Mexico rather than by Ohio or Texas, a protest from the State Department would be apt to ensue. The judicial decisions in such controversies demand inclusion in any picture that professes to paint the Supreme Court as a model for a World Court. Above all, the powers possessed by Congress are a potent force in keeping the States from each other's throats. Without these powers of Congress and these constitutional limitations on the States, the authority of the Supreme Court over States as litigants would leave the situation from Maine to California but little different from the international anarchy which some are seeking to end. By abstracting from its setting the material he presents, Dr. Scott offers a delusive palliative to a sick and suffering world. He would have done better had he done nothing.

THOMAS REED POWELL

Sic Transit

The Book of Susan. By Lee Wilson Dodd. E. P. Dutton and Company.

Flappers and Philosophers. By F. Scott Fitzgerald. Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE part of a devil's advocate is not an amusing one to play. It seems ungrateful to find fault with an American novel that is being praised by good judges and that is the work of an unmistakably gifted and cultivated man of letters. Mr. Dodd's style is in another world from the gritty slovenliness of the average story; the earlier part of his book is filled with ripe and intense characterizations; the interpolated passages of criticism and verse are mellow and delightful. But the fable of the book is the fable of "Daddy Longlegs," not only in fact but, beneath all appearances of intellectual subtlety and integrity, in tendency and spirit. You do not suspect that at once. The Birch Street environment of Susan's childhood is rendered with very sharp and honest exactness. Nor does any sentimental lapse interfere with the transferring of the little waif to the home and the affections of Ambrose Hunt, who is neither bachelor, husband, nor widower. But very soon, though the catastrophe is meticulously veiled by Mr. Dodd's culture and his ingratiating manner, the inner structure of the book crumbles and sinks into a pool of treacle. Susan is entirely too remarkable to be both true and agreeable. She never deviates into the undistinguished; she is a modern infant super-phenomenon. Yet her frankness is only an excess of conventional refinement guarding its cloistered sensibilities by a new set of gestures and pretenses. The brief interlude of the emergence of Mrs. Hunt, her sudden psychical turn-about, and her obliging demise complete the withdrawal of one's confidence from Mr. Dodd. One is not astonished after that to have the war burst in all gold and glory and legend

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and to see Ambrose and his Susan melt into each other's arms somewhere in France.

Mr. Dodd is, of course, too much the scholar and thinker not to be dimly aware of some of the very soft spots in his narrative. Ambrose Hunt, with his radical tongue and his Philistine soul, comes in for very deft little stings and pricks of irony. But if Mr. Dodd meant to play fair with him, with us, and with the admirably characteristic American problem involved, why did he kill poor Gertrude Hunt? Why does he not let Hunt fight out his fight and triumph or go under, or else shirk his drama and retire to his studies? No book is fundamentally honest in which a man's fate is decided by a happy or an unhappy accident. The reply that it happens in life is pointless. The artistic interpretation of life must be based on its inherent and permanent nature. An accident stops the story, but does not end it. Why raise the interesting issue of Hunt's divided mind if Gertrude is to die? She seems notably healthy during her single appearance. Why portray the struggle of Susan, if it was to dissolve for good in a fleeting exaltation of mood? If lightning strikes you, your story is not ended; it remains an eternal fragment. These are mere commonplaces. That one has to urge them brings out the structural feebleness of Mr. Dodd's novel and the intellectual irresponsibility of those who praise it unreservedly. We understand the temptation to such praise. Much of our fiction is incurably common in workmanship. A book obviously written by an artist and a scholar makes a very special appeal. But what if, before its end, he yields to every vulgar snare and fortifies every vulgar folly? We can only hope that Mr. Dodd will soon give us another novel in which his grace of style and temper shall serve to express an austerer strain of thought and imagination—ansterer because it is truer and truer because it does not compromise.

"Flappers and Philosophers" is a far more melancholy spectacle than "The Book of Susan." We were among the first to welcome the richness, the verve, the promise of Mr. Fitzgerald's "This Side of Paradise." We were not blind to his essential immaturity of outlook and, therefore, were a little astonished at Professor Phelps's certainty that he would "go far." Alas, he has gone far. He has gone from the polished literary dexterity of his first book to the manner of writing that makes "lay" an intransitive verb and zestfully employs that indescribable particle "onto." No, this is not pedantry. An illiterate genius can afford such luxuries. In him they argue no insensitiveness or ugly haste or careless drifting with the crowd. Mr. Fitzgerald is a university-bred man and seemed to be a poet. The substance of the eight stories in his volume is in harmony with his new manner. They have a rather ghastly rattle of movement that apes energy and a hectic straining after emotion that apes intensity. The surface is unnaturally taut; the substance beneath is slack and withered as by a premature old age. The Offshore Pirate is on the level of a musical comedy "book"; The Ice Palace and Benediction are falsely effective bits of sentimentality; Head and Shoulders is sheer trickery—a prestidigitator's "stunt" in writing. The Cut Glass Bowl and Bernice Bobs Her Hair touch human nature and the course of life more closely. But both share the ugly hardness of the book's title. This hardness is the hardness of neither austerity nor disillusion; it is neither ascetic nor cynical. It is merely harsh and flippant.

What has happened to Mr. Fitzgerald? His first book has had a well-merited success. Did he retire, after a very proper interval of gaiety, to his study in order to write a deeper, richer, riper book? Unhappily we are in an environment where only failure can save the soul of youth. In "This Side of Paradise" there was both gold and dross. Instead of wringing his art, in Mr. Hergesheimer's fine expression, free of all dross, Mr. Fitzgerald proceeded to cultivate it and to sell it to the *Saturday Evening Post*. Why write good books? You have to sell something like five thousand copies to earn the price of one story. *Sic transit gloria artis.*

Books in Brief

REVOLUTIONS are never the simple things they commonly set out to be. The more thoroughly they accomplish their immediate purpose, the more certainly unforeseen programs lift themselves above the horizon demanding fulfilment. That the democratic revolution, implying as it does the greatest upheaval in social history, should clarify its program slowly, was inevitable. But since 1914 current democratic thought has been shifting its emphasis more rapidly, envisaging ends that were not foreseen in pre-war days. In those remote times the Marxian collectivists were in full possession of the field. In England the Fabians were the counseling force—driving would be too strong a word—and the Syndicalists were scarcely heard of. But the gentle moon of Fabianism has set, and bureaucratic collectivism is on the scrap-heap. They failed because of the inadequacy of their programs to democratic ends. Products of a machine age, they worshiped a machine regimentation of society, forgetful of the fact that democracy is not a program but is of the spirit, and that the sole test of a democratic society is the free flowering of individual men and women. This is the vital truth that gives significance to a delightful book by Richard Roberts, a cultivated Welsh clergyman who supplements a catholic British outlook with a knowledge of America. "The Unfinished Programme of Democracy" (Huebsch) lays emphasis upon the ethical objective of democracy, holding that the ultimate goal is not material prosperity —although such prosperity doubtless will result from the democratization of economics—but the creation of a social environment that will stimulate the largest cultural development. The beginning and the end of the democratic purpose lie in freedom and fellowship. Mr. Roberts over-modestly makes little claim to originality, but he gives evidence of wide reading and intelligent meditation. Much social literature from Ruskin and Morris to Hobhouse, Bertrand Russell, and G. D. H. Cole has passed through his mind and taken fresh meaning, and the most widely read will enjoy the book for the fine, undogmatic intelligence which marks his examination of fundamental principles. His main conclusions are essentially at one with those of the English Guildmen. He reflects the Guild reaction against the collectivistic ideal of bureaucratic centralization and ultimate preoccupation with the economic. "The task of democracy," he insists, "is that of destroying individualism and of cultivating individuality." This task, with all such coordinate ends as the redemption of work and the spread of fellowship, can be accomplished only by more democracy. Revolutionaries hitherto have been too much engrossed with the immediate question of the title-deeds to our economic machinery. A shift of ownership is necessary; property for power rather than for use must be socialized; but a saving democratic spirit in the daily conduct of work is much more necessary. In order to bring this about the traditional conception of the sovereign state and its relations to society must come in for an overhauling. In his political philosophy Mr. Roberts follows the National Guildmen into the camp of what to an American seems a neo-Jeffersonianism. It was Jefferson who taught Americans of a hundred years ago the danger of that "state omnicompetency" which brings so many evils in its train, as well as the saving virtue of those social contacts and sympathies which are humanizing to free men. To Mr. Roberts this "sociability" is the essence of democracy. The system of profitism "has largely kept mankind in a state of arrested development"; it has subordinated the entire household to the kitchen; and the final test of a rational democratic society is the question whether it is able to solve the problem of a due subordination of the kitchen to the living rooms. The book is both refreshing and heartening and deserves a wide reading, not only for the soundness of its ideas but for the distinction and charm of its temper, and the vividness of its style.

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IN the British mind of Mr. C. Brunsdon Fletcher three books are necessary for showing Germany's unfitness to receive back her South Sea island possessions. "Stevenson's Germany: the Case against Germany in the Pacific" (Scribner's), the third and last of the three, builds around Robert Louis Stevenson's "Footnote to History" an argument against Germany's return to Samoa or elsewhere. It is clear that Samoa suffered from German exploitation—but so has the South Sea suffered from white exploitation generally; and Stevenson knew, among other things which Mr. Fletcher does not stress, that the British themselves were not the least of the exploiters, though they were certainly not the worst.

WHEN the doctors of Lille induced the French Academy of Medicine to resolve never again to participate in any international congress in which sat German colleagues who had not denounced the acts of the German Government, they probably had small suspicion that their resolution would lead to a German study of the German data regarding German atrocities in Lille. Dr. Erik Schlesinger, the distinguished Berlin nerve specialist, read the vibrant protest of Dr. Calmette of the Pasteur Institute of Lille to the Berlin Medical Society. The Berlin doctors held that the allegations required investigation by historians rather than by doctors and refused to take any action. Dr. Schlesinger then, together with Fraulein Walburga Geiger of the Department of Labor, Max Hodann of the League of Nations Society, and Dr. Elisabeth Rotten of the Allied Prisoners Relief work, instituted their own investigation, and the damning result is laid before their countrymen in "Lille" (Berlin: Hans Robert Engelmann), a compact seventy-page pamphlet consisting of Dr. Calmette's protest before his French colleagues and of the official orders and data discovered in the files of the German War Department. They reveal the Prussian mind at its cold mechanical worst, systematically executing the doctrine of military necessity, not so much with conscious brutality as with inhuman logic. A few of Dr. Calmette's charges seem less brutally unnecessary when seen in relation to their backgrounds; most of them, the deportations especially, seem perhaps even worse. The collation is an amende d'honneur, and Dr. Schlesinger and his colleagues deserve the highest praise for an unpleasant task well done. They promise sequels enlightening their fellow-Germans on other matters well known abroad; it will be interesting to see whether a similar series of monographs on the Baralong affair, and the alien property custodians, is forthcoming from the Allied side.

AMONG the tasks of reconstruction one task is so simple that it is sometimes overlooked in the conflicts now raging and yet so important that it must not be overlooked no matter what else happens: that of rebuilding the houses in the devastated regions and reestablishing the industries immediately necessary for subsistence. Corinna Haven Smith and Caroline R. Hill in "Rising Above the Ruins in France" (Putnams) offer a sensible and unadorned account of the visits the two made in the Departments of the Marne, the Somme, the Aisne, the Nord, and Pas de Calais, immediately after the armistice, on behalf of the Children of the Frontier. They report from hearsay a good many things about the German occupation that have often been told; some of their statistics have already become old-fashioned, so rapidly does the work of rehabilitation go on. But when they speak of conditions actually witnessed they speak with the natural authority of sincerity and lucidity. And beneath their pictures of these ruined towns and farms appears the moving spectacle of plain men and women tenaciously clinging to their native soil and beginning a new life with a vitality which not even this war could extinguish. The book takes a particular value from the large number of photographs with which it is enriched and which supplement the text to a degree unusual in the many records of amateur observers with which the market has been glutted.

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Drama

An Evening at the Movies

TO criticize the movies may seem to have fallen low indeed. But Mr. D. W. Griffith, superman of the "photoplay," invites you with a gesture of quite regal courtesy. "Here," he seems to say, "is a thing that has little in common with your quarter show around the corner; here is, if anywhere, the unheard of and incomparable." You go and find yourself in the midst of a sufficiently intense experience of life, if not of art. All that depresses and discourages you in certain characteristic moods of your countrymen is here: the moral littleness and the physical magnificence, the intellectual sloth and the mechanical speed. The contrast that meets you is not the ancient and tragic one between grandeur and mortality; it is a quaint and new one between grandeur and silliness. But do not fancy Mr. Griffith a Barnum, a knowing fakir on an heroic scale. He creates or rather assembles his spectacles within the mood to which they are to appeal; he himself throbs and yells and hisses the villain with that vast audience which is stirred and shaken by these racing pictures as it could never be by the passion of Medea or the piteousness of Lear.

He has taken the tawdry old fable of "Way Down East"—the betrayal, the mock marriage, the villain's downfall, the happy ending—and left it, in all essentials, precisely what it was. The written legends on the screen that interpret the action in a style of inimitably stale sugariness serve but to intensify the coarse and blundering insufficiency of the moral involved. These hectic appeals to the mob in favor of conventions as stiff as granite and as merciless as gangrene are powerfully calculated to tighten thongs that even now often cut to the very heart and to increase the already dreadful sum of social intolerance and festering pain. For in the applause of these audiences there is not only satisfaction; there is menace. Ten thousand people, an hundred thousand people, will, sooner or later, leave a theater after this picture and go out into the world determined to make the ideals of Mr. Griffith prevail. Woe to a neighbor, a friend, a kinsman who shall choose to lead his life upon another plan! Against this propaganda poets and philosophers are as powerless as a child trying to batter down a door of oak.

They are the more powerless because the manager with a craftiness that, on this scale, has in it something grandiose, drives home his moral by the sharpest, the most intimate, the most unashamed appeals. A son dances a simple old country dance with his mother and, with a grave and tender courtesy, kisses her faded cheek. Dusk falls over two young lovers in an orchard. Apple blossoms sway in the breeze. Behind the screen well-modulated choral voices sing an old-fashioned ditty that brings back to every American those scenes of his earlier years from which no man can withhold a faint tenderness. Our youth does tug at our hearts. If the steady and disciplined mind recognizes, however austerely, the natural power of such things, consider how those unschooled characters go down before so vividly real and beautiful a presentation of them. They are ensnared by what is not the worst within them, and driven forth by their very pieties to persecute and to traduce their fellowmen. Who is so base that, having seen this picture, he will not battle for the security, the permanence, the sanctity of —well, of everything exactly as it is?

Mr. Griffith's "elaboration" of the story is purely scenic in kind. Not to praise his work in this respect would be an empty affectation. Life is here in great beauty and in great abundance. The gorgeous ball in the prologue, the barn-dance, the farm-yards, the sleigh-rides are all excellent. The directing, especially in the barn-dance scene, is superb. No stage manager has ever created a fuller sense of the authentic rhythm and thrill and abandon of reality. All the group scenes, indeed, are magnificently done. There is in them a union of strength and elasticity that required both insight and imagination to produce. Wherever no moral ideas intrude, wherever neither straight thinking nor clean feeling was to be done, wherever the scene has no significance beyond its physical aspect and movement, Mr. Griffith and his actors have both grace and power. It follows that the picture reaches its highest point where nature and naked physical danger are to be shown. When the heroine's past is discovered, the squire drives her—like Hazel Kirke—out into the storm and the night. The scene is excessively silly and mawkish. But he does not drive her out, remember, into a storm of paper from the wings. It is an authentic blizzard in the forests of Vermont. The girl flees to the frozen Connecticut river. But the ice cracks and is riven and, lying on a floe, she is driven toward the thundering falls. The hero follows her and saves her at the last moment. A shabby old trick! But the feigning is reduced to a minimum. A large engineering staff worked for two months to force nature itself to enact this scene. The whirling storm, the icy water, the racing floes are actually there. It is not art, but it is magnificent.

Anthropologists tell us that in primitive society the violator of a taboo is the central object of vengeance. Yet when trained observers question members of the tribes as to the reason for any particular taboo, primitive man cannot even comprehend the nature of that question. His whole concern is with the how, never with the why of his tribal customs. In the foreground of his consciousness is always the will, never the reason. In the face of nature he is agile, skilful, and intrepid; before the uses of his tribe or phratry he is a shivering and unthinking slave. The parallel is, at least, instructive. Mr. Griffith and his kind harness rivers and play with storms in order to tell the tribe what it already most potently believes, and to fortify its already over-active and perilously blind volitions. In this vicarious affirmation of its will the audience feels something that approaches ecstasy, as it also does in witnessing the contest between men and the primordial forces of the earth.

There are secondary sources of pleasure. Miss Gish is an extremely gifted young woman. The art of reproducing the exact gesture and facial expression of life could not well go further. She was present in a box on this first showing of the picture and received a deserved ovation. Yet were she to act the part of Nora Helmer, as she so exquisitely could, these audiences would turn from her in hot and angry contempt. Her art, as such, is nothing to them. They only know that she violated no taboo.

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International Relations Section

The Zionist National Conference

THE following account of the resolutions adopted by the Zionist National Conference on July 19, over which Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis presided, is reprinted from *Palestine* (Manchester), the organ of the British Palestine Committee, for July 31.

The Zionist Annual Conference opened in London at the Memorial Hall on July 7, and closed exactly at midnight on July 22. Not all the sittings were open to the public, a full week being devoted to work in Committee. In all, nearly 300 delegates were present from various lands, including over forty from America. Such distant countries as the Argentine, Persia, Siberia, South Africa, and New Zealand were represented, together with the Caucasus, Tunis, Egypt, and practically all the new European states. The labor element and the Mizrachi (orthodox) section were both in strength. Mr. Justice Brandeis, of the American Supreme Court, was elected President of the Conference, and a statement of general conditions by Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Sokolow, and Mr. Ussishkin, of the Zionist Commission, was followed by a general debate, after which the following eight committees took up their tasks, viz.: Political, Palestine Work, Palestine Finance, Culture and Education, Organization, Finance of Organization, National Work in the Diaspora, and the question of convening a world Jewish congress. When the public sittings were resumed on Monday, July 19, the following resolutions were adopted:

Land Policy

The fundamental principle of Zionist land policy is that all land on which Jewish colonization takes place should eventually become the common property of the Jewish people. The Executive is called upon to do all in its power to carry this principle into effect.

The organ for carrying out Jewish land policy in town and country is the Jewish National Fund. The objects of this body are: To use the voluntary contributions received from the Jewish people in making the land of Palestine the common property of the Jewish people; to give out the land exclusively on hereditary leasehold and on hereditary building-right; to assist the settlement on their own farms of Jewish agricultural workers; to see that the ground is worked, and to combat speculation; to safeguard Jewish labor. The credit resources of the Zionist Organizations are to be placed, in the first instance, at the service of such settlers as undertake to comply with the principles of the Jewish National Fund.

In order to give the Jewish National Fund a dominating position in the purchase of land, adequate means must always be placed at its disposal. In order to enlarge its sphere of operation, the Jewish National Fund shall raise loans, of which the interest and sinking fund are to be paid off through its leasehold rentals. The Jewish National Fund shall be entitled, even in disregard of the obligation it has hitherto been under, to set aside certain sums for reserve, to invest the whole of its funds, without any restrictions, in Palestine. The land policy of the Jewish National Fund must be encouraged by means of credit institutes for agricultural and urban property.

Land purchase in Palestine shall be centralized in the hands of an officially recognized institution under the control of the Zionist Organization.

In order to bring large portions of the land of Palestine into Jewish possession as rapidly as possible, the Jewish National Fund shall devise means by which, alongside of the capital of the Jewish National Fund itself, private capital can also be utilized for the purchase of land under conditions which will assure the subsequent transference of land so bought into the national possession.

Colonization

The aim of national colonization is the settlement of Jewish farmers cultivating the land themselves.

Only workers who have been successfully tested by long experience, and Jews who were working farmers in the Galuth should be assisted to settle. Workers who have acquired agricultural knowledge in the Galuth should gain adequate working experience in the country before they are assisted to settle. Special attention should be given to the wife's suitability for settlement.

For the purpose of settlement and the preparation of settlements large, contiguous areas should as far as possible be secured by the Zionist Organization, even if improvement and sanitation are required.

The settlement of candidates possessing capital shall be furthered, provided they cultivate the land themselves.

Public works may not be carried out by the Zionist Organization except with a view to public utility and national economy.

The Jewish National Fund should undertake the improvement of its land, limiting its activity to the work requisite for rendering the soil fit for cultivation.

The Zionist Organization shall cooperate with workers' institutions dealing with the provision of employment, cooperation, education, medical aid, mutual credit, and the organization of the immigration of active workers.

Sanitation

The Annual Conference hereby decides that a health office be established as a department of the supreme Zionist authority in Palestine. All medical and sanitary work should be concentrated in the hands of this health office. For the carrying out of this work, a special budget for sanitation should be allocated from the general budget for Palestine work. This budget for sanitation should comprise all individual budgets of every organization for medical and sanitary work in Palestine.

Immigration

The organization and regulation of immigration into Palestine shall be intrusted to the Central Immigration Office to be established forthwith in Palestine. The Central Office may establish port bureaus in the most important ports and, when necessary, assign certain central functions to the Palestine offices of the various countries.

Those immigrants who are considered necessary for the reconstruction of Palestine, and are not in a position to pay the whole of their traveling expenses themselves, shall receive loans from the immigration offices.

Apart from these general questions, the matters of education, both in Palestine and other lands, were discussed and funds apportioned. The establishment of a foundation fund of £25,000,000 was also agreed upon, and a number of large subscriptions, including three of £20,000 each, was announced. It was also decided to take steps to convene a world Jewish congress which shall be the authoritative body to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in all national affairs. On the political side resolutions were unanimously adopted expressing thanks for the San Remo decision, and also solemnly declaring the determination of the Jewish people to live in peace and friendship with the non-Jewish population in its national home. This latter resolution further expressed the conviction that the reconstruction of the Jewish national home will provide all sections of the population, especially the productive classes, with the opportunity for their free development in every department of life.

At the final sitting a new constitution was accepted. To enable this to be done the members of the Executive Council, who can only be elected by the Zionist Congress, placed their resignations at the disposal of the Conference, thus giving the

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latter a free hand. The result was the selection of Mr. Justice Brandeis as Honorary President, Dr. Weizmann as President, and Mr. Sokolow as Chairman of the Executive, with power to select the heads of the departments, who, with them, will form the Executive of the Organization. In addition, a Board of Trustees was appointed, composed of Sir Alfred Mond, M. P., Lord Rothschild, and Mr. Bernard Flexner, of America, whose duties will be to see that the money of the Organization shall be properly applied to the purposes and in the amounts which the Executive may decide. The Trustees are to arrange for a monthly audit, and make reports at least once a year. It was further decided to establish an economic council for the purpose of advancing the development of Palestine. It is to be composed of men well known in the financial and business world in this and other countries, and also of representatives of the Zionist Organization. This council is thus to be the medium of collaboration with those Jews who are not members of the Zionist Organization, but are ready to cooperate in the reconstruction of Palestine.

The Future of Palestine

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL, who has left England to take up his duties as British High Commissioner of Palestine, issued the following statement to the press before his departure.

. . . Complete religious liberty will be maintained in Palestine. The places sacred to the great religions will remain in the control of the adherents of those religions. A civilian administration for the country will be at once established. The higher ranks will consist of British officials of ability and experience. The other ranks will be open to the local population irrespective of creed. Order will be firmly enforced. The economic development of the country will be actively promoted.

In accordance with the decision of the Allied and Associated Powers, measures will be adopted to reconstruct the Jewish national home in Palestine. The yearnings of the Jewish people for 2,000 years, of which the modern Zionist movement is the latest expression, will at last be realized. The steps taken to this end will be consistent with a scrupulous respect for the rights of the present non-Jewish inhabitants. The country has room for a larger population than it now contains, and Palestine properly provided with roads, railways, harbors, and electric power, with the soil more highly cultivated, the waste lands reclaimed, forests planted, and malaria extirpated, with town and village industries encouraged, can maintain a large additional population not only without hurt, but on the contrary, with much advantage to the present inhabitants. Immigration of the character that is needed will be admitted into the country in proportion as its development allows employment to be found.

Above all, educational and spiritual influences will be fostered in the hope that once more there may radiate from the Holy Land moral forces of service to mankind. These are the purposes which, under the high superintendence of the League of Nations, the British Government, in the exercise of its mandate for Palestine, will seek to promote.

Industrial Prospects in Palestine

THE Central Bureau of the Zionist Organization, through its Trade and Industry Department, has issued a pamphlet from which the following summary of industrial prospects in Palestine is reprinted.

A survey of industry, handicraft, and commerce in Palestine will show that there is no prospect of the country's becoming in the near future one of the homes of large-scale industry. The natural qualities of the region and the peculiar mentality of the Jewish population are alike better fitted to promote the growth of small-scale industry. Industrial development in Palestine must be deliberately guided in conformity with these considerations. . . .

One of the first requisites for the furtherance of industry and commerce in Palestine is the foundation of a bank with ample capital, a bank for commerce and industry. The aims of this institution should be in the first place to found great undertakings, such as those for the utilization of all the water supplies of the country for irrigation and as sources of energy; the establishment of centers for overland trade; the foundation of enterprises for town lighting; tramway and railway development; the building of docks; the encouragement of mining enterprise; the promotion of companies to carry on the various industries suitable for the country. . . .

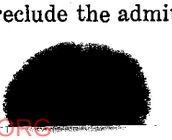
The next requirement is an improvement in transport conditions to facilitate the import of the principal raw materials for the developing industries and the export of the products, and to put an end to the evils prevailing to-day, when inland transport over quite a brief stretch is often costlier then marine transport for several thousand miles. A steam navigation company must be founded, or in default of this, special agreements must be made as to freights with the existing steamship lines. Of primary importance are the proper development of the Palestinian railway system and the prolongation of the local railway lines to effect junctions with neighboring systems, so that favorable tariffs may be obtained for the transport of various goods. These railway enterprises must be undertaken by the Jewish Society for the Colonization and Reconstruction of Palestine, for only upon this condition will the work of colonization be carried out methodically in such a way as to further the development of industry and agriculture, while under these auspices the railway construction works and the staffing of the railways will from the very first provide employment for thousands of the new settlers.

For the facilitation of transport, highways must be built throughout the country, roads good enough for motor traffic as well as for other wheeled vehicles. Great storehouses must be constructed, with silos for cereals and cold storage for perishable goods. At the same time care must be taken to encourage the supply of such raw materials as are requisite for the new Palestinian industries. Those not procurable locally and the necessary exotic foodstuffs in addition, must be obtained in sufficient quantities and at advantageous prices from the best sources of supply and stored in the warehouses. These warehouses will serve also for the storage of goods for export. Extremely valuable institutions will be (1) a museum for commerce and industry displaying all the products manufactured in the east, showing the raw materials from which these are made and the most modern appliances used in their manufacture and (2) a laboratory for the chemical and technical study of raw materials, building materials, etc.

A technical school with a commercial section would help greatly in the promotion of industrial development. . . . The school must be adapted to the peculiar requirements of Syria and the East. The pupils should receive such a training, including a knowledge of the requisite languages, as will enable them to secure occupation in Palestine and elsewhere in the East.

The Anglo-French Oil Agreement

THE agreement between M. Berthelot, of the French Foreign Office, and Sir John Cadman, director in charge of the British Petroleum Department, regarding petroleum, was confirmed at San Remo by Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand on July 25. The agreement, while it is now between France and Great Britain, is understood not to preclude the admittance of other countries in a similar com-



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bination. The text, reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian* for July 24, follows.

RUMANIA. The British and French Governments shall support their representative nationals in any common negotiations to be entered into with the Government of Rumania for

1. The acquisition of oil concessions, shares, or other interests belonging to former enemy subjects or bodies in Rumania which have been sequestrated, e. g., the Steaua Romana Concordia Vega, etc., which constituted in that country the oil groups of the Deutsche Bank and of the Disconto Gesellschaft, together with any other interests that may be obtainable.

2. Concessions over oil lands belonging to the Rumanian state.

All shares belonging to former enemy concessions which can be secured and all other advantages derived from these negotiations shall be divided, 50 per cent to British interests and 50 per cent to French interests. It is understood that in the company or companies to be formed to undertake the management and the exploitation of the said shares, concessions, and other advantages the two countries shall have the same proportion of 50 per cent in all capital subscribed as well as in representatives on the board and voting power.

TERRITORIES OF THE LATE RUSSIAN EMPIRE. In the territories which belonged to the late Russian Empire the two Governments will give their joint support to their respective nationals in their joint efforts to obtain petroleum concessions and facilities to export and to arrange delivery of petroleum supplies.

MESOPOTAMIA. The British Government undertakes to grant to the French Government or its nominee 25 per cent of the net output of crude oil at current market rates which his Majesty's Government may secure from the Mesopotamian oil fields, in the event of their being developed by government action; or in the event of a private petroleum company being used to develop the Mesopotamian oil fields the British Government will place at the disposal of the French Government a share of 25 per cent in such company, the price to be paid for such participation to be no more than that paid by any of the other participants to the said petroleum company. It is also understood that the said petroleum company shall be under permanent British control.

It is agreed that should the private petroleum company be constituted as aforesaid the native Government or other native interests shall be allowed, if they so desire, to participate up to a maximum of 20 per cent of the share capital of the said company. The French shall contribute one-half of the first 10 per cent of such native participation, and the additional participation shall be provided by each participant in proportion to his holding.

The British Government agree to support arrangements by which the French Government may procure from the Anglo-Persian Company supplies of oil which may be piped from Persia to the Mediterranean through any pipeline which may have been constructed within the French mandated territory and in regard to which France has given special facilities up to the extent of 25 per cent of the oil so piped on such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon between the French Government and the Anglo-Persian Company.

In consideration of the above-mentioned arrangements the French Government shall agree, if it is desired and as soon as application is made, to the construction of these separate pipelines and railways necessary for their construction and maintenance and for the transport of oil from Mesopotamia and Persia through French spheres of influence to a port or ports on the Eastern Mediterranean. The port or ports shall be chosen in agreement between the two Governments. Should such pipeline and railways cross territory within a French sphere of influence France undertakes to give every facility for the rights of crossing without any royalty or way-leaves on the oil transported. Nevertheless, compensation shall be payable to the landowners for the surface occupied. In the same way France will give facilities at the terminal port for the acquisition of the land necessary for the erection of depots, railways, refineries, loading wharves, etc. Oil thus exported shall be exempt from export and transit dues. The material necessary for the construction of the pipelines, railways, refineries, and other equipment shall also be free from import duties and way-leaves.

Should the said petroleum company desire to lay a pipeline and a railway to the Persian Gulf the British Government will use its good offices to secure similar facilities for that purpose.

NORTH AFRICA AND OTHER COLONIES. The French Government will give facilities to any Franco-British group or groups of good standing which furnish the necessary guaranties and comply with French laws for the acquisition of oil concessions in the French colonies, protectorates, and zones of influence, including Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco. It should be noted that the French Parliament has resolved that groups so formed must contain at least 67 per cent French interests.

The French Government will facilitate the granting of any concessions in Algeria which are now under consideration as soon as the applicants have complied with all the requirements of the French laws.

BRITISH CROWN COLONIES. In so far as existing regulations allow, the British Government will give to French subjects who may wish to prospect and exploit petroliferous lands in the Crown colonies similar advantages to those which France is granting to British subjects in the French colonies.

It is added that nothing in this agreement shall apply to concessions which may be the subject of negotiations initiated by French or British interests.

Quaker Messages

THE first World Conference of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) held at London, August 12-20, 1920, was attended by delegates from Australia, Austria, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Great Britain, India, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Syria, and the United States. It adopted messages to the Council of Action of the British Labor Party, to the people of Ireland, to the governments of the various nations, and to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations.

TO LABOR'S COUNCIL OF ACTION

A representative Conference of about a thousand members of the Society of Friends, sometimes called Quakers, from many countries of the world, has been meeting at Devonshire House, London, from August 12 to 20, 1920.

It has been considering Christ's teaching in its relation to war, whether between nations or between classes within a nation, and also to our industrial system, which is at present based largely upon personal gain rather than upon service to the community.

We believe in the value of spiritual forces in human affairs, and are convinced that goodwill, fellowship, and mutual trust are the effective means to progress, and that to this end armed force is futile.

We are thankful for the impulse towards peace in the labor movement throughout the country. How far the methods contemplated by your Council are such as we could indorse, we do not presume to judge, but we have observed your efforts towards peace with Russia with grateful sympathy.

We wish to support you in your endeavors to give expression to the true brotherhood of all men, by such means as are in accord with the life and teaching of Jesus Christ.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

This international conference of members of the Society of Friends gathered from all parts of the world has been deeply moved by the present tragic situation in Ireland. Our hearts go out in prayer and sympathy for the Irish people. . . .

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Without entering into the political issues involved, we desire to express our conviction that the withdrawal of all coercion and violence against Ireland or against any part of Ireland and the cessation of acts of violence by all sections of the Irish people are essential if a lasting reconciliation within Ireland and between the peoples of Great Britain and Ireland is to be secured. We believe such a reconciliation to be an urgent need not only for the peoples of these two countries but for the world as a whole.

The power of God is greater than the forces of evil, and we feel that in this tragic hour, so full of misery and despair the world over, there is a call to Great Britain and Ireland, by the exercise of trust in God and in that something of God which is in all men to triumph over hatred and injustice.

To the Governments

This Conference of more than one thousand members of the Religious Society of Friends from all over the world is deeply impressed by the unsettled state of Europe as the outcome of the war, and by the imminent danger of general chaos and ruin. It believes that among the essential conditions of a real settlement are:

1. The immediate cessation of the war between Russia and Poland, the abandonment of all support, whether direct or indirect, for attacks on the Government of Russia, and the resumption of normal relations with that country.

2. The speedy reestablishment of the economic life of the nations of Central Europe, through an international commission on which all the states concerned should be represented, as they were on the Danube Commission. The experience of our relief workers on the continent of Europe convinces us that this is a measure of extreme urgency.

3. The remodeling of the League of Nations and the inclusion therein at the earliest possible moment of Germany, Austria, and Russia, and any other nations, large or small, that wish to come in. The inclosed copy of a memorial to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations indicates the lines along which the Conference considers it necessary to make amendments.

4. The abolition of compulsory military training; and general disarmament among all the nations as essential for the removal of fear, the reestablishment of peaceful industry, and the reconstruction of the life of the world on the Christian basis of cooperation and goodwill.

To the League of Nations

. . . It is our conviction that far-reaching changes in the structure of the League must be effected if it is to be capable of development towards the end we have stated. Amongst these are the following:

1. All nations should be given at once the opportunity to enter the League as full members.

2. The constitution should be more fully representative of the peoples themselves and the possibility of the dictatorship of a small group of nations should be removed.

3. The threat of armed force or economic blockade should be eliminated. The peace we seek cannot rest on fear.

4. It should be possible to reach decisions and to make amendments of any kind without waiting for absolute unanimity.

While to yourselves and to us it must be apparent that many other amendments are needed in order to perfect this instrument, we hope that such amendments as indicated might be made effective at an early date. Should this be accomplished we should indeed rejoice that the League had been formed and should have reason to expect that it would be a potent means towards establishing on earth the Kingdom of God.

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